

THE MONTHLY PLANET

November 1987

Volume 3, Number 10



**The INF Treaty:
A Look Behind the Scenes**

The MONTHLY PLANET

c/o Nuclear Weapons Freeze

320-G Cedar St.

Santa Cruz, Ca. 95060

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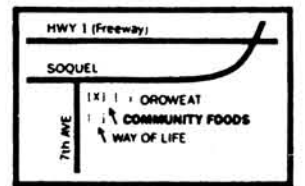
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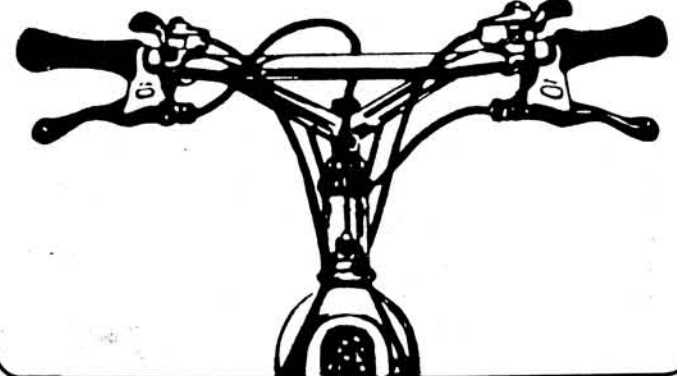


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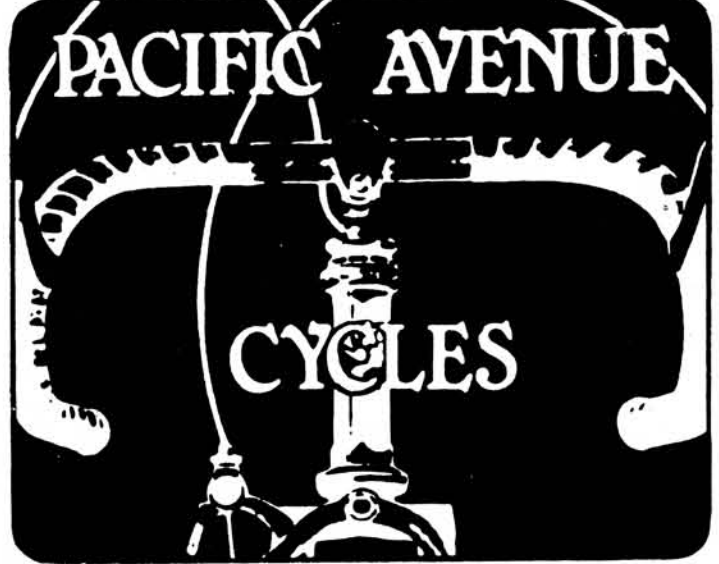
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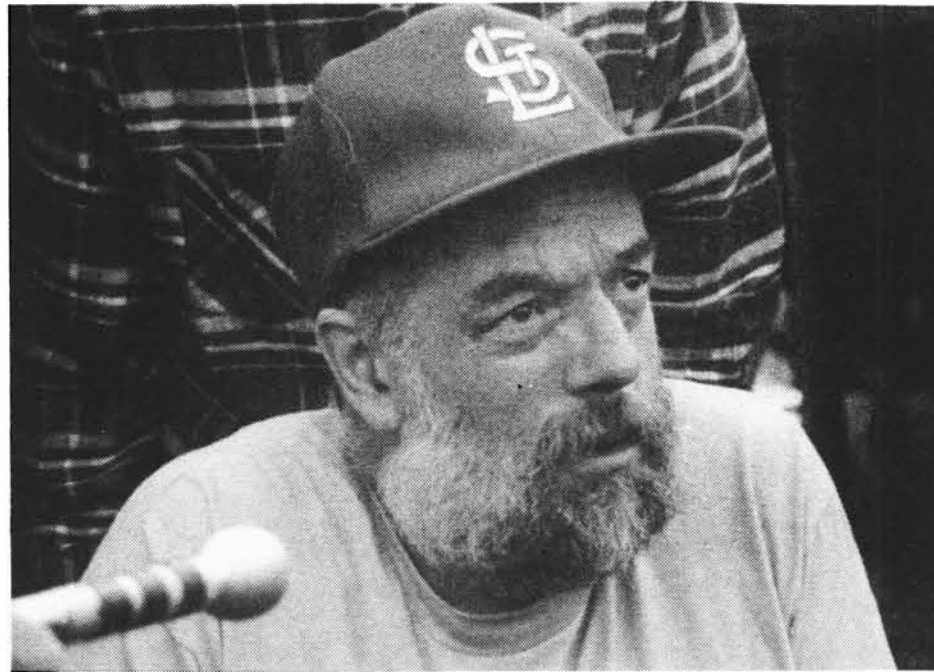
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Typography: Typola
Printing: Gilroy Dispatch
Local Distribution: Gerry Anderson
National Distribution: Stephane Joyet

circulation 15,000

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GREG MARTIN

On September 29 Brian Willson was back on the tracks at the Concord Naval Weapons Station.

Deadlines

for the December Monthly Planet

Publication Date
Thursday, December 10

Poetry Submissions
Monday, November 23

Letters to the Freeze
Tuesday, December 1

Calendar Listings
Tuesday, December 1, 5 p.m.
(no phone calls, please)

Display ads
Friday, December 4, 5 p.m.
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The Monthly Planet is published at the beginning of every month (except January) by the Santa Cruz County Nuclear Weapons Freeze, 320-G Cedar Street, Santa Cruz, CA 95060. (408) 429-8755. The Planet is mailed free to all Santa Cruz County Freeze members. Memberships are available at \$15 for one year (\$10 low income). The views expressed in the Planet are those of the authors and are not necessarily the official views of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze. Articles, calendar items, and letters should be typed, double spaced, and sent to the above address. Letters must be signed and not more than two pages in length. We reserve the right to edit letters for brevity and clarity. Call for deadlines and advertising rates.

The Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign

The Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign had its beginning in late 1979 when Randall Forsberg, director of the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies, drafted a paper—the Call to Halt the Nuclear Arms Race. National organizations and hundreds of regional and local groups and individuals endorsed the Freeze proposal and its goal of calling the U.S. and U.S.S.R. to stop the testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons and missiles and new aircraft designed primarily to deliver nuclear weapons.

Since 1981, when the national campaign began, support for the Freeze has broadened and deepened. In the fall of 1982, more than thirty percent of the American public had a chance to vote on the Freeze. Overall, sixty percent of those voting favored the Freeze. In 1983, the U.S. House of Representatives passed a Freeze resolution by almost a two-to-one victory.

In December, 1986, the National Conference of the Freeze adopted the current long-term goal of the Campaign: Enactment of a bilateral, comprehensive Freeze as an essential verifiable step toward lessening the risk of nuclear war; and the phased mutual reductions of nuclear weapons, beginning with U.S. and Soviet ballistic missiles. These goals are concrete steps toward a vision of a world without nuclear weapons by the year 2000. Achieving the elimination of nuclear arsenals should be accompanied by an end to the cold war, sharp mutual reductions in conventional forces, conversion to a peace economy, and establishment of common security among the nations of the world.

The Freeze Campaign is now active in all fifty states. It is broad-based and non-partisan. Through the Freeze, American citizens are demanding that the nuclear arms race be stopped and then reversed.

From The Grassroots



We prefer that letters to *The Monthly Planet* be typed, double spaced, and not more than two pages in length. Hand-written letters should be printed or written as legibly as possible. We reserve the right to edit for brevity and clarity.

Freeze Focus Should Be Bilateral

I am writing to protest your editorial policy. What was once advertised as a paper advocating a bi-lateral nuclear freeze does nothing but discuss U.S. policy in the most negative terms. For example, you have many articles regarding American involvement in Central America, but none on the Soviet invasion of

Afghanistan. I never see detailed discussions of Soviet armaments. Never are we asked to write the Supreme Soviet to stop funding for Soviet weapons. In short you have become very one sided.

Although you've noticed the incredible stream of wonderful arms proposals coming out of the Kremlin lately you don't seem to make any connection with American policy. When Mr. Reagan became president he claimed that a "policy of strength" would cause the Soviets to give up or moderate military aggression and abandon the arms race. We have since gone deeply into debt to finance this military expansion. However, today we see the Soviet Union desperately trying to get out of Afghanistan and end the arms race, precisely as Mr. Reagan predicted. Your articles ignore this unpleasant but obvious fact. For example, in the article "1500 Down, 49,000 to Go" you claim that the peace movement deserves much of the credit for putting pressure on "the governments." I remember no peace movement pressure on the Soviet government. In fact, I remember that the U.S.

missiles were installed for the explicit purpose of pressuring the Soviets into dismantling their much more numerous medium-range warheads. This will probably occur. Sounds like the "strategy of strength" worked, particularly when you realize that the coming agreement is very similar to Western proposals around the time the Pershing deployments began.

In essence I believe that for some reason you lost sight of what once made the freeze movement strong. The call for a bi-lateral nuclear freeze. With the focus on both super-powers, not just one.

Yours,
Al Globus
Santa Cruz

Editor's reply: Thank you for your letter. We always appreciate hearing from our readers, even when we disagree with them.

Yes, *The Monthly Planet* has discussed U.S. foreign policy in negative terms. It seems that the current administration's policies—the drive for a



nuclear first-strike capability, the support of Contra terrorists and brutal governments in Central America, reckless military activities in the Persian Gulf, and runaway military spending in the face of economic collapse—merit a realistic and critical analysis. As Americans, it is our responsibility to let our representatives know when we think changes are called for.

The *Monthly Planet* has asked readers to write the president and Congress, and not the Supreme Soviet, because our tax dollars are funding U.S. nuclear weapons, not Soviet ones. However, writing letters to the Soviets also sounds like a good idea. Our criticism of U.S. policy should not be interpreted as an acceptance of Soviet policy.

In our discussion of the public pressure for arms reductions, the sentence "The peace movement, both here and in Europe, deserves much of the credit for mobilizing that public demand and bringing it to bear upon the governments," refers to the U.S. and Western European governments, not the Soviet government. If last month's editorial on the INF agreement was not clear on that point, we apologize.

And, as for your claim that the president's "strategy of strength" worked—well, think about this: even after the nuclear reductions of the INF treaty are completed, we shall still have more nuclear weapons when Mr. Reagan leaves office than we had when he took office. It seems that a "strategy of strength" is just another way of saying "build up to reduce."



WE HAVE EXPANDED

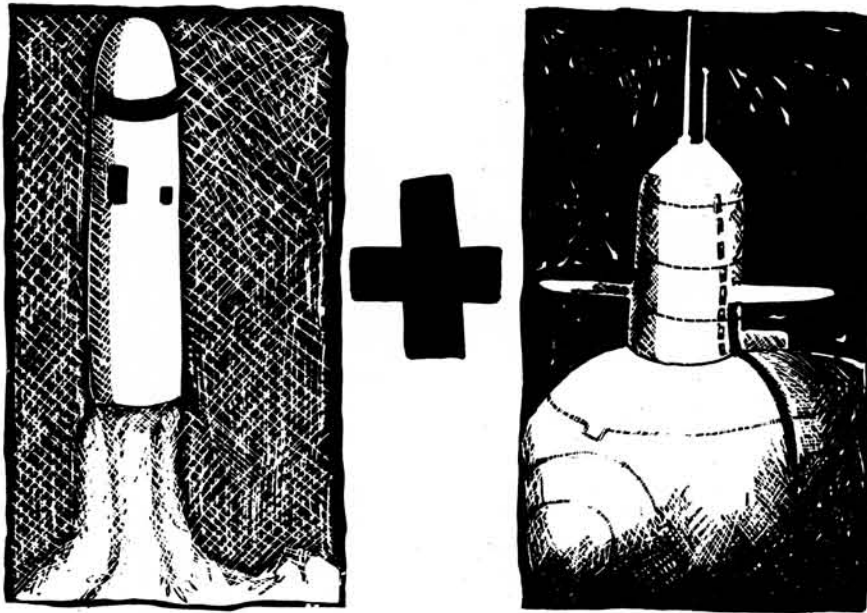
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Are you concerned about national security? We are. That's why we are so strongly opposed to the Trident II D-5 missile. It's not just another "nuke." It is a highly accurate and extremely fast weapon. Because it is so accurate and fast, the Soviet Union can easily perceive the reason for its development as a U.S. desire for a "first-strike" capability.

The side which has a first-strike capability can launch a nuclear attack so devastating as to virtually wipe out its opponent's retaliatory ability. Since both sides currently have a "second-strike" capability, there exists an uneasy "deterrence" for both sides. That means, it would be suicide for either to strike first. While this situation is far from perfect, it's all we have. To replace deterrence with first-strike capability, we make ourselves less, not more, secure.

First-strike weapons developments force the Soviets to respond with similar advances of their own. Furthermore, the submarine-launched Trident II D-5 missile can reach its target in just 10 to 15 minutes. Its deployment will force the Soviets to go on a hair-trigger alert, causing them to launch on warning to "use or lose" their own nuclear weapons. This is hardly a stable or secure situation.

Measures which help decrease the likelihood of a new Soviet buildup make us more secure. Negotiating an end to the arms race on bilateral terms will help do that. Moves that force the Soviets to develop first-strike weapons, such as building and deploying the Trident II D-5 system, don't make us safer but rather seriously erode our national security.



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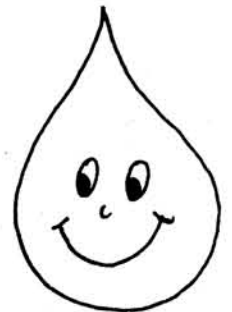
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NRC Under Fire

A reorganization of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission that would replace the five commission members with a single administrator was proposed on October 8. Senator Alan K. Simpson, the ranking Republican on the Senate Nuclear Energy Subcommittee, introduced the bill that will seek to change the "unwieldy, inefficient and ultimately unworkable commission."

The NRC has come under severe criticism for failing to responsibly manage a national safety program for the nation's nuclear power plants. Critics charge that the commission's top administrative body, the five members appointed by President Reagan in his first term, have developed cozy relationships with the industry it is supposed to regulate.

Earlier this year NRC Commissioner Mr. Thomas Roberts agreed to a Nuclear Regulation Subcommittee request to refrain from participating as a commissioner, either personally or through staff, in any commission action. Roberts was president of a company that manufactures reactor liners before his appointment to

the NRC. House Democrats had demanded he resign after it was discovered that internal NRC documents bearing Robert's initials were somehow leaked to a utility company under an NRC safety investigation.

Another area of concern is the charge that the five commissioners have been hampering the efforts of its own investigative staff. Staff investigators contend that their authority to pursue NRC investigations is undermined by the fact that the commissioners can override their decision and stop an investigation. This has led to another legislative proposal by the Senate Nuclear Energy Subcommittee for an independent inspector general for the NRC.

—BDN

White Lies

The covert "white propaganda" operation by the Reagan administration to "favorably influence" public support for the Contras directly violated congressional restrictions on the use of federal funds for publicity or propaganda purposes, an investigative arm of Congress, the General Accounting Office, concluded

Hot Flashes

by Catherine Franke and Bradley David Neily

ed in a legal opinion made public Oct. 4.

Representatives Dante Fascell, a Florida Democrat, and Jack Brooks, a Texas Democrat, requested the G.A.O. investigation of the State Department's Office of Public Diplomacy for Latin America and the Caribbean. The investigation brought to light the numerous contracts awarded to outside public relations consultants who helped prepare opinion columns signed by Contra leaders for publication in major American newspapers.

—CF

Star Wars Fraud

Former associate director for defense systems at the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, Roy D. Woodruff, says that much of the federal funding for the X-ray laser research of President Reagan's "Star Wars" program has been won by overly optimistic and incorrect information supplied by physicist Edward Teller and fellow scientist, Lowell Wood.

Woodruff's conscience forced him to give up his post as associate director of defense October 29, 1985 when laboratory director, Roger E. Batzel, would not allow Woodruff to pass on correcting information to Washington of Teller and Wood's reports.

Woodruff was subsequently demoted to an entry level position. He announced the fraud last April, by letter to President David Gardner of the University of California, which administers the laboratory.

The Southern California Federation of Scientists, whose members largely oppose Reagan's "Star Wars" program, made Woodruff's letter public last month, in a news conference at the Los Angeles Press Club. Dr. Robert M. Nelson, a senior scientist at the Jet Propulsion Laboratory and co-chair of the scientists' federation, called for an investigation by an outside entity.

—CF



Peach Bottom Blues

The Nuclear Regulatory Commission is forcing the Philadelphia Electric Company to keep its Peach Bottom nuclear reactor shut down until the utility can restrain its controllers from misbehaving on the job. Control room operators at Peach Bottom have been found asleep at the job, and, after six months, top management at the power plant in Pennsylvania have been unable to convince the NRC that they can keep the control room operators awake.

The Peach Bottom nuclear plant was shut down March 31 of this year after the control room operators were found sleeping, playing video games and reading magazines when they should have been monitoring operations of the reactor. Peach Bottom does not stand alone in its negligence: nuclear operators across the country have been found asleep at the wheel—often under the influence of alcohol and other drugs. Said Lando W. Zech Jr., commission chairperson of the NRC, "Part of the problem, as I can see, is leadership, right down from the top."

—CF

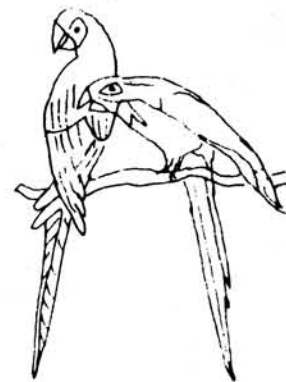
Deadlier Trident II

Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger has decided to proceed with the testing of a new Trident II missile with 12 warheads in November which, until last month, had never been tested with more than 8 warheads. Critics of Weinberger's test plan say that there is no need to carry out the testing of a weapon which would not be deployed for at least five years, and which could seriously hamper the arms talks with the Soviet Union.

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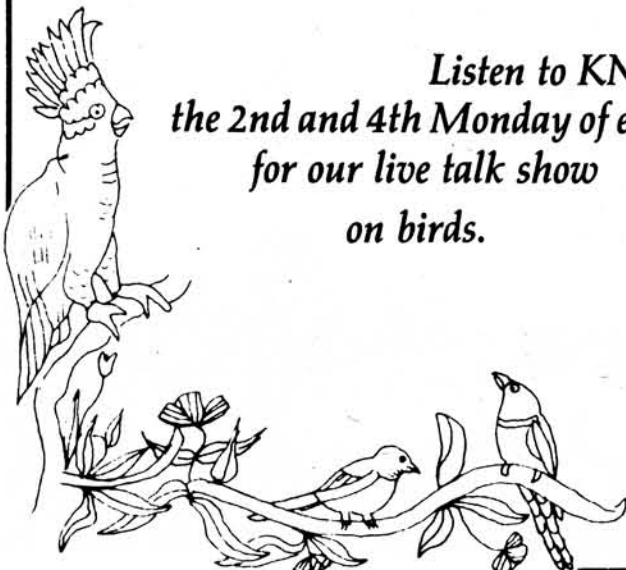
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According to current plans, the Trident II is to carry two types of warheads—some with 8 Mk-5 warheads, and some with 12 smaller Mk-4 warheads. This plan is in direct violation of the counting rule in the SALT II treaty and also is in disregard of the Russian demand that a similar rule be included in the new treaty on long-range arms.

But Weinberger and his supporters declare that procedures spelled out in past agreements should not stand in the way of progress. Said Fred Hoffman, the chief Pentagon spokesperson, "The SALT II rule does not apply as far as we are concerned."

—CF

Pentagon Launches Space Program

Secretary of the Air Force Edward C. Aldridge has disclosed plans by the Pentagon to build its own rocket fleet. The Pentagon is concerned that the Challenger disaster and the resultant reduction in scheduled NASA space flights will delay plans for replacing components of the Defense Satellite Communication Systems (DSCS), the global voice and video link for U.S. land and sea military forces.

The Air Force announced that it would increase production of the military's largest unstaffed rocket, the Titan IV, to meet increased flights of 10 launchings a year by the early 1990s. The Air Force wants

to employ components of DSCS III, a new version of the military's existing communication system, because they are better protected against nuclear radiation and jamming devices. NASA contends that the Pentagon simply is trying to build its own rocket division to escape civilian administration and authority of the nation's space program. The New York Times quoted a senior Pentagon official as saying, "It's not that we are leaving the shuttle, the shuttle has left us."

—BDN



JEFF HUCH

Alaska vs. Plutonium

Alaska, under the leadership of Gov. Steve Cowper, has filed suit against the federal government to block a plutonium shipment plan that has been approved by the secretaries of state and energy. The proposed shipment of plutonium, one of the most highly radioactive and toxic substances known, would require a refueling stop in Alaska on its route to Japan from Europe.

Alaska contends that the proposed agreement and the entire analytic process have been handled in secrecy by federal officials and that the federal government has violated the National Environmental Policy Act by not "discussing, considering or analyzing the environmental impacts of their decisions."

Under the shipment plan, thousands of pounds of plutonium would be taking off and landing in Alaska. Alaska Attorney General Michele D. Brown said in the suit, "studies have calculated that the release of 2.8 pounds of plutonium from an aircraft accident could cause as many as 500,000 people to develop lung cancer," while Dr. Marvin Resnikoff, a University of Michigan physicist, says of plutonium, "inhaling a microscopic speck would lead to cancer, exposure to large doses is lethal. Plutonium has a half life of 24,400 years. This means that if plutonium were released today, it would remain radioactive until sometime in the late 246th century."

Secretary of State George P. Schultz had said in a letter to Gov. Cowper that approval of the shipment plan would be conditioned upon "safety requirements" such as the "use of a cask certified to withstand a crash." Alaska contends in its suit that no such shipping containers "capable of safe, efficient, large-scale air shipment of plutonium" have been developed.

—CF



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Israel's Nuclear Weapons: In the Basement or In the Shop Window?

by R. Scott Kennedy

During a three-week study tour this summer to Jordan, Tunis, Israel and the Occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, we asked many people about the extent and nature of the debate on Israel's nuclear war-making capacity. The question was prompted by the courageous action a year ago by an Israeli named Mordechai Vanunu.

Vanunu worked for nearly a decade in Israel's top secret nuclear reactor facility near Dimona in the Negev desert. He gave evidence, complete with photographs to the *Sunday London Times* show-

2) Why has Vanunu's case been met by indifference by so many peace and antinuclear groups, especially in the United States, despite the declared motivation for his revelations and his brutal treatment and trial by Israeli authorities?

The question of Israel's weapons comes to the fore particularly for those who too often neglect the Arab-Israeli conflict in their antinuclear analysis. Vanunu has stated repeatedly that his purpose in disclosing details of Israel's nuclear war-making capability was to spark a public debate about a question with significance for the survival of Israel, its neighbors and the entire

Vanunu has broken the silence and shattered a pattern of deception shrouding Israel's nuclear weapons program and U.S. complicity in it.

ing that Israel has a nuclear weapons capability. Vanunu's trial began while we were in Jerusalem and we were shocked by press reports of him arriving at court helmeted, arms restrained, cut off from any contact with the public or his supporters.

Vanunu's revelation was not exactly news. As early as the 1970s CIA sources reported that Israel had the capability of arming and delivering perhaps a dozen nuclear warheads within 24 hours. On the one hand, Israel may not have had fully armed weapons on the shelf or resting in bomb bays waiting for use. On the other, few have believed Israeli officials who since the mid-1950s have offered the pat assurance that "Israel will not be the first to introduce nuclear weapons to the Middle East." This was an unlikely truth, except in the most technical sense, and those few who have gone to the trouble to notice have taken Israel's nuclear capability more or less for granted.

According to Vanunu, however, Israel has been aggressively pursuing a multifaceted secret nuclear weapons development program which has produced at least 100 and perhaps as many as 200 deliverable nuclear warheads. The Jewish State apparently has the ability to arm and ready for use many dozens of nuclear weapons. Vanunu's witness has closed the books on the debate about *whether* Israel has produced nuclear weaponry.

The Vanunu case is remarkable, however, beyond conclusively ending the argument *whether* Israel has nuclear weapons. His revelations have put the issue before the public as never before and raised these points as well:

1) It demonstrates that Israel has a much more fully advanced nuclear program than had been previously suspected and raises the question of why Israel needs or wants so many weapons. And,

region.

When asked whether Vanunu had succeeded in provoking a debate among Israelis, nearly everybody with whom we met said no. Few public figures express interest in the question. Few voices have questioned the kidnapping of Vanunu and his forced abduction to Israel. Few challenge his being held in solitary confinement, denied visitors while imprisoned, tried in secret, portrayed by the prosecution as a traitor, or pilloried in the press as a deviant convert to Christianity who sold state secrets for personal gain. International observers, such as Amnesty International, have been denied permission to attend the trial. Those working in his support or defense have been subject to constant harassment, surveillance and intimidation. His brother is banned from returning to Israel under threat of imprisonment for jeopardizing Israeli national security. His crime? He disclosed details of Vanunu being trapped, drugged and shipped to Israel in a packing crate.

Some Israelis clamor meanwhile for the death sentence for a treasonous act — revealing details of a program that the government continues officially to deny even exists.

Even fewer Israelis question the legality, wisdom or likely consequences of Israel's nuclear weapons development. Some "doves," such as scholars at the Tel Aviv Center for Strategic Studies, go so far as to argue that Israel *must* have nuclear weapons in order to withdraw from the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip — a form of deterrence. If Israel is to possess such weapons as a deterrent, some Israelis ask, why deny their existence altogether?

Hence the debate in the public sphere has been largely limited to whether Israel should make its nuclear deterrent a centerpiece of its political and military



Mordechai Vanunu with friend Judy Zimmet.

posture (putting the bomb "in the shop window") or continue its policy of denying a nuclear war-making capability (keeping the bomb "in the basement," as it were).

This question has taken on a new twist in light of the recent belated move by the superpowers to eliminate medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe. This summer Israel successfully tested the land based Jericho II missile which has a range of 800 miles. The test firing raised eyebrows because of the Jericho II's nuclear warhead-carrying capacity. The Jericho II not only brings most every Arab capital within striking distance, but can also reach within the Soviet Union's southern border. One can only speculate as to

which walls may come tumbling down.

A major stumbling block to the treaty in Europe was U.S. insistence that only those weapons owned by the U.S. and U.S.S.R. be included. The offer of the Federal Republic of Germany to throw out its own weapons in the bargain alone allowed the negotiations to proceed without "third party weapons" killing the treaty.

Meanwhile, Israel enjoys what government officials and the media have described as "a NATO-like" security relationship to the United States. It often acts as the surrogate for U.S. power in the Mid East, and operates virtually without constraint, given overwhelming and seemingly uncritical congressional,

administration and public support.

Is it a coincidence, an Israeli journalist asked us, that Israel demonstrates its "medium-range" nuclear war-making capability precisely at the time when the U.S. is signing a treaty to eliminate such weapons from Europe? Especially when the Israeli weapons have a reach extending to the Soviet Union itself, including important ports and industrial targets near its southern border?

It is no wonder then that immediately after the successful test of the Jericho II, the Soviet Union expressed concern that Israel's nuclear weapons development was being pursued unchecked, given that Israel has consistently refused to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty or allow inspection of its nuclear facilities, even by the U.S.

While press articles and commentaries proliferate and congressional debate rages about Pakistan's alleged intent to produce nuclear weapons — and therefore to automatically forfeit American aid — no such discussion focuses on Israel. The blanket statement by a U.S. Embassy official in Tel Aviv, that the U.S. has no knowledge and no control of such developments as the test firing of the Jericho II, is especially unconvincing.

Vanunu's case may well be the barometer of international nuclear responsibility vis a vis the Middle East. His act was an act of conscience, in accord with International Law. He sought to provide the occasion for public debate, both within and beyond Israel, about its apparent non-compliance with the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and U.S. laws prohibiting the development of such weapons technology.

Such matters as the development, possession and possible use of nuclear weapons must be the subject of informed debate and decision in any country calling itself a democracy. Vanunu has broken the silence and shattered a pattern of deception shrouding Israel's nuclear weapons program and U.S. complicity in it.

People concerned for the long-term viability of Israeli democracy, the security of the citizens of Israel as well as its neighbors, and the respect for civil rights and International Law, should insist that Vanunu be released and the charges against him dismissed. If he is to be tried he should be released until proven guilty and afforded every opportunity to publicly defend himself, to openly speak to his motivation and to base his defense on the principles of the Nuremberg Trials and International Law, principles which have played so important a role in the history of Israel.

Otherwise Vanunu, this Daniel Ellsberg of Israel, will through our neglect have been "disappeared."

Scott Kennedy is on the staff of the Resource Center for Nonviolence in Santa Cruz. He has written on Middle East issues in such journals as *The Journal of Palestine Studies* and *Christianity and Crisis*. He has visited the region a dozen times, most recently this summer on a study tour and peace delegation which he co-lead with Deena Hurwitz. For details on Vanunu's case contact the Resource Center (408) 423-1626 or the Vanunu Defense Committee, P.O. Box 45005, Somerville, MA 02145, (617) 623-3264. Contributions are needed to pay for witnesses to travel to Israel.

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Division Grows Between Reagan and Congress

As the Reagan presidency nears its end, the foreign policy objectives for which it strived over the last six years appear to be crumbling. Recent events in the Middle East and in Central America have caused Congress to call into question the effectiveness of Reagan's policies, and to make initial attempts to demand accountability from the executive branch.

Persian Gulf

Following months of internal struggle over whether and how to involve itself in

U.S. policy in the Persian Gulf, the Senate approved 54-44 a weakly-worded resolution calling on the president to submit a report justifying his decision to offer escort protection to Kuwaiti tankers in the gulf. If approved in the House and signed by the president, the resolution will require the president to submit a detailed

support for a continued U.S. presence in the gulf.

In a similar vein, the Senate went on to approve 92-1 a resolution congratulating President Reagan for ordering the retaliatory strike against the Iranian oil platform. Republican Senator Mark Hatfield of Oregon cast the lone dissenting vote,

President Reagan has refused to abide by the War Powers Act, claiming it is unconstitutional because it interferes with his office as commander-in-chief of the armed forces.

explanation of his policy within 30 days. The Senate would then have 30 days to review the report and vote on whether to approve or disapprove the policy.

The compromise legislation is illustrative of the identity crisis within a Congress which would like to assert itself on matters of U.S. foreign policy, but is basically afraid to do so. Senate Majority Leader Robert Byrd (D-VA) summed it up for everyone when he remarked, "I think the Senate simply looks terrible."

The comment refers to more than four months of dissension over whether the Senate would assert itself and invoke the War Powers Act. The 1973 law requires the president to inform Congress within 48 hours whenever U.S. troops are involved, or are in immediate danger of being involved, in hostilities. Congress would then have 60 days to approve such involvement. If Congress doesn't act within that 60 day period, U.S. troops must be withdrawn. The law was enacted near the end of the Vietnam War, as Congress sought to reclaim some measure of control over the president's military actions in Southeast Asia. It was passed over President Nixon's veto, and has been bitterly denounced by every president ever since. President Reagan has refused to abide by the provisions of the War Powers Act, claiming it is unconstitutional because it interferes with his office as commander-in-chief of the armed forces.

For three months, Senate Republicans filibustered any attempt by Congress to enforce the War Powers Act until the filibuster was finally overturned October 20 by a vote of 67-28. The agreement to end the filibuster was due to the compromise legislation constructed by Senator Byrd and Republican Senator John Warner of Virginia. The legislation clearly reflects the lack of consensus of opinion within the Senate on this issue, and appears aimed at trying to placate everyone in the interests of trying to save face and produce some kind of statement. While calling on the president to respond to the concerns of Congress, it also affirms

and vowed to continue to urge the Senate to invoke the full War Powers Act. Senator Hatfield, it may be recalled, was the only Senator to vote against the Gulf of Tonkin resolution, which irrevocably committed the U.S. to the Vietnam War.

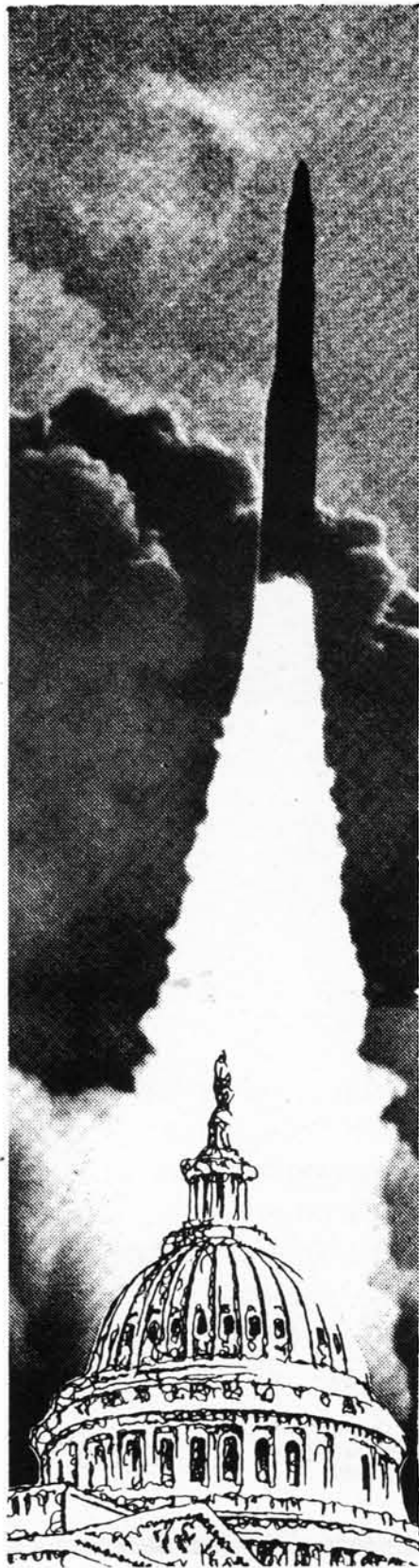
Central America

Vowing to "work, strive and struggle as long as there is breath in my body," President Reagan told a meeting of the Organization of American States recently that he intends to approach Congress with a request for \$270 million for the Nicaraguan Contras sometime prior to November 15.

If approved, the aid would violate a key provision of the recently signed Arias

peace plan, which calls on outside nations to refrain from supporting armed insurgency movements in Central America. While offering lukewarm praise for the Arias plan, the president stated that aid to the Contras was a necessary component to insure Sandinista compliance with the terms of the accord. In addition, the president enumerated a list of demands on the Managua government, at least five of which are not specifically called for in the agreement. When questioned on this point by the press, White House Spokesperson Marlin Fitzwater commented, "We'll make our own determination about what is acceptable and what constitutes compliance."

The administration recognizes that it will probably lose its battle with Congress on the request for military aid, and so has come up with alternative "non-lethal" uses for the money. Secretary of State George Schultz suggested that if the Sandinista government lives up to the terms of the peace plan to the satisfaction of the Reagan administration, then any unspent portion of the aid would be used to support the Contras in building a political movement inside Nicaragua in preparation for the 1990 presidential elections there. According to an article in the *Los Angeles Times*, Rep. Sam Gejdenson (D-CT) calculated that \$270 million in political aid to influence three million Nicaraguan votes would be roughly equivalent to spending \$25 billion to influence a presidential election in the United



Contact Your Representatives Today!



Hotlines

To keep you abreast of late-breaking events on peace and arms control issues, the following organizations run regularly-updated taped messages:

American Peace Test Hotline
(up-to-date information on all testing activities at the Nevada Test Site)
702-363-7780

Nuclear Arms Control Hotline
(Council for a Liveable World)
202-543-0006

S.O.S.—Save Outer Space Alert
202-462-0777

Central America Legislative Hotline
202-543-0664

Witness for Peace Hotline
(religious activists in Nicaragua)
202-332-9230

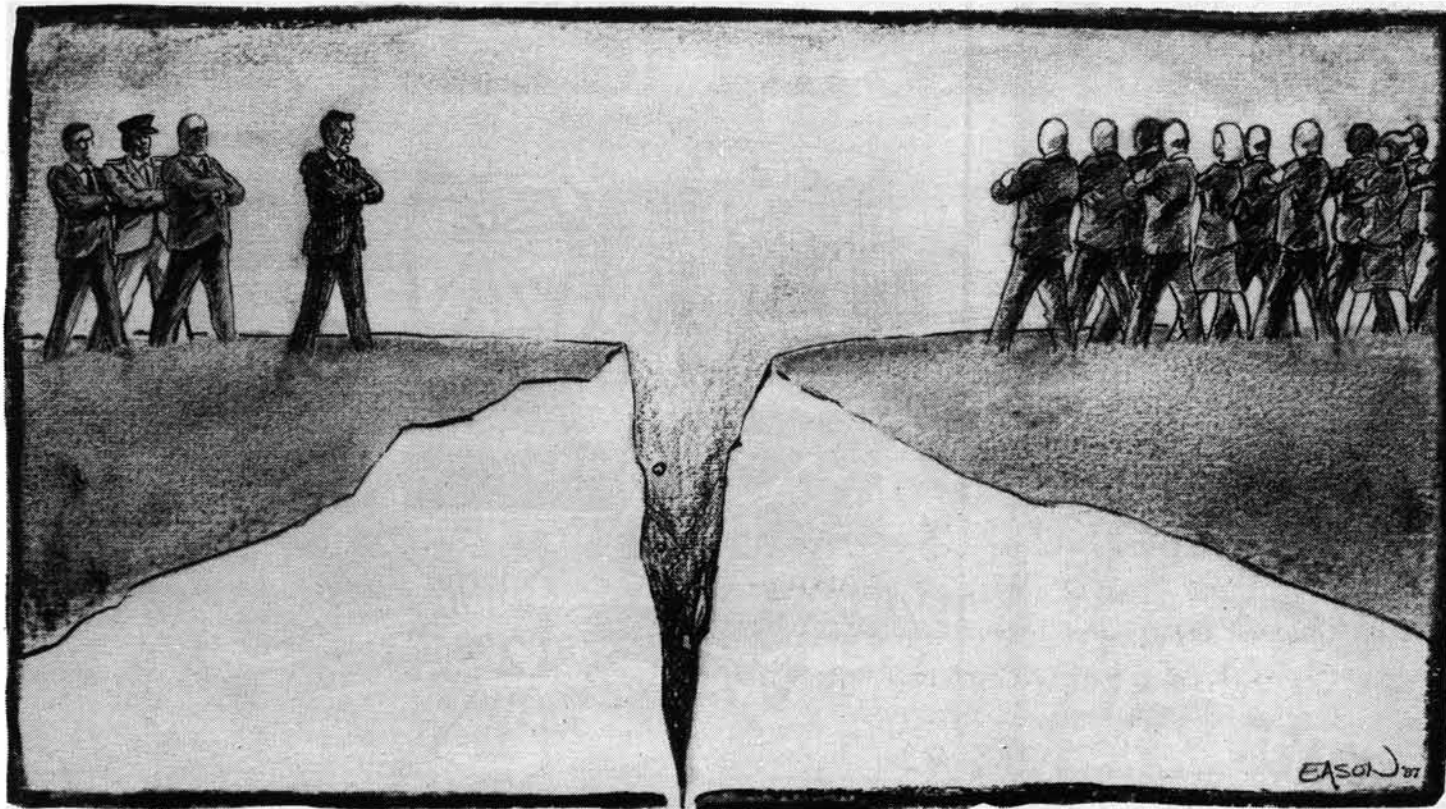
President Ronald Reagan
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500
(202) 456-1414

Senator Alan Cranston
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510
(202) 224-3553

Senator Pete Wilson
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510
(202) 224-3841

Congressmember Leon Panetta
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515
(202) 225-2861/local: 429-1976
(Sixteenth Congressional District)

Congressmember Ernest Konnyu
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515
(202) 225-5411/local 257-7051
(Twelfth Congressional District)



DAVE EASON

States.

In other related legislation, the State Department Authorization Bill passed through the Senate without any amendments on travel restrictions to Central America. You might recall that the House passed the Walker-Smith amendment to restrict the travel of U.S. citizens to Central America if the purpose of the travel was to "perform services or provide assistance to the military operations of the government of Nicaragua or . . . to perform services or provide assistance to any group (in Central America) which the president has designated as a Communist guerilla group." The measure will be sent to the State Department Authorizations Conference Committee, which will meet to resolve differences between the House and Senate versions of the bill.

Although conferees have not been chosen yet, it is certain that House Foreign Affairs Chair Dante Fascell (D-FL) and House Foreign Affairs committee member Dan Micah (D-FL) will participate. Both stand in opposition to the Walker-Smith amendment remaining in the bill.

Finally, the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations released \$7.1 million in what was termed "non-lethal" aid to police operations in Central America. Proponents of the aid argue that it will be used to upgrade and professionalize the civilian police forces in the Central American countries, thereby decreasing death squad activities. Congress placed a moratorium on such aid in 1974 because investigations revealed that the monies were actually being used to fund training in torture techniques.

ACTION: 1. Contact your Senators and House Representatives and demand an end to all types of aid to the Nicaraguan Contras. 2. Contact Rep. Dante Fascell (202) 225-4506 and Rep. Dan Micah (202) 225-3031 and tell them to oppose inclusion of the Walker-Smith amendment in the State Department Authorizations

conference report.

Military Spending Bills

The fiscal year 1988 Defense Authorizations Bill has finally cleared the Senate and is now in conference committee. On October 2 the Senate, by a vote of 57-41, passed an amendment mandating a cutoff of funds for any weapons that exceed the limits of the SALT II Treaty. Even though the 1979 treaty had never been ratified by the Senate, both the United States and the Soviet Union had remained in voluntary compliance with its terms. In 1986 the administration announced it would no longer observe the numerical limits of the treaty, and deployed the 131st B-52 bomber fitted with air-launched cruise missiles.

House and Senate conferees are under enormous pressure to move quickly through the bill. So far, there is only agreement on two items: SALT II, and maintaining a strict interpretation of the

Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty. At stake are amendments on nuclear weapons testing, an anti-satellite moratorium, and chemical weapons production, which the House passed and the Senate did not. The fiscal year ended September 30 without a new budget, and the government is

currently running on a temporary stop-gap spending measure called a Continuing Resolution (CR). The current CR expires November 10 and Congress will probably be obliged to pass another one. Also, the president has vowed to veto the authorizations bill if it contains the ABM and SALT II provisions. If this happens, it is unlikely that Congress will try to resurrect it.

Meanwhile, the House Armed Services Committee has met to consider the 1988 Defense Appropriations Bill. The appropriations process grants the check-writing power for items approved during the authorizations process. The committee is planning to include amendments on SALT II, ABM, anti-satellite moratorium, and nuclear weapons testing in the appropriations bill. Representative Vic Fazio (D-Sacramento) is expected to introduce a measure to cut funding for testing of the space-based interceptor, a key element toward early deployment of Star Wars. Rep. Steny Hoyer (D-MD) will introduce an amendment to cut funds for the Rail Garrison basing mode for the MX missile.

ACTION: Contact House Armed Services Committee Chair Les Aspin (D-WI) (202) 225-3031. Urge him to hold firm in the Authorizations Conference Committee on all arms control provisions passed in the House.

Shelly D'Amour is the legislative editor of The Monthly Planet.

Committee Assignments of Local Representatives

Senator Alan Cranston

Senate Majority Whip Committees: Banking-Housing-Urban Affairs; Foreign Affairs; Veterans Affairs; Select Committee on Intelligence.

Senator Pete Wilson

Agriculture-Nutrition-Forestry; Armed Services; Commerce-Science-Transportation; Special Committee on Aging; Joint Committee on Economics.

Representative Leon Panetta

Agriculture; House Administration; Select Committee on Hunger. Expected to be named chair of the House Budget Committee.

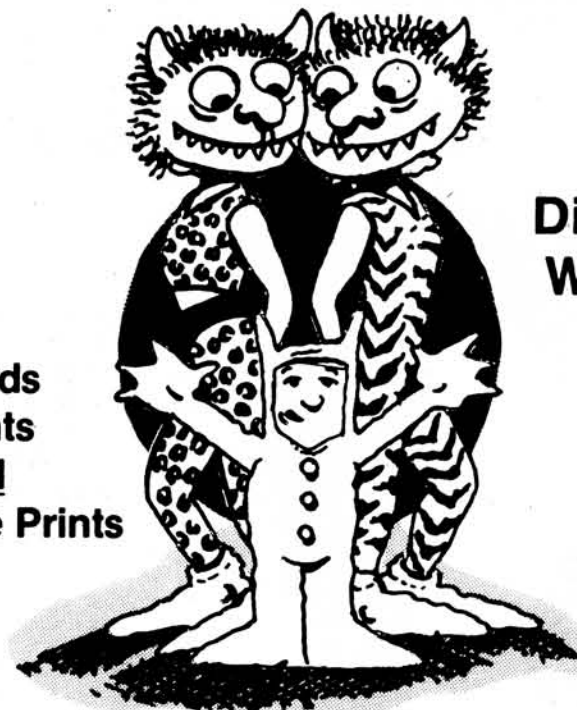
Representative Ernest Konnyu

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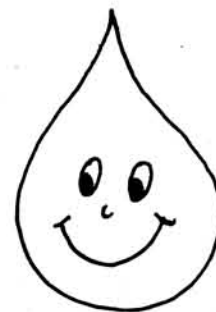
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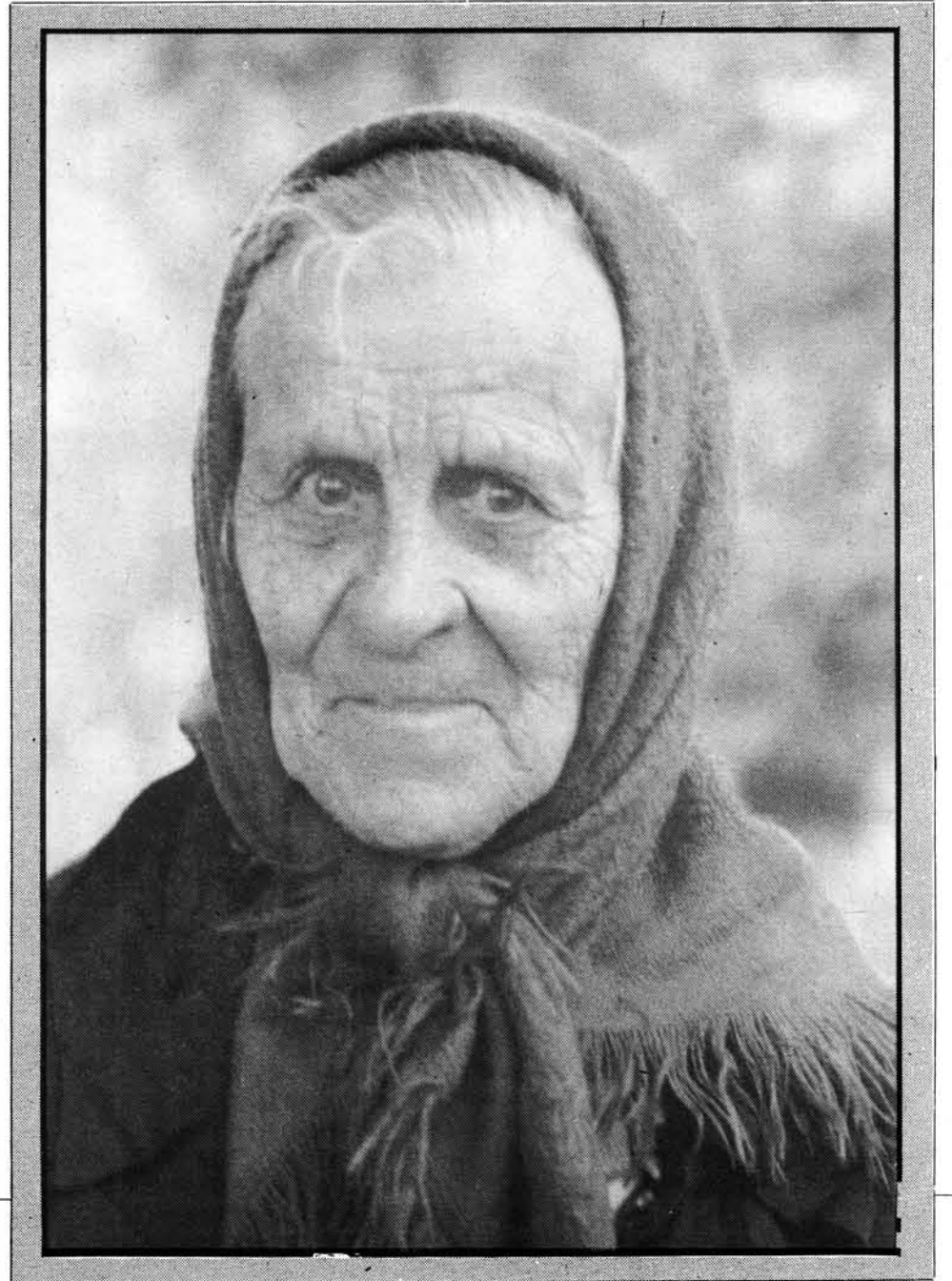
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SOVIET UNION



by Taica Unanue-Bortin

I walked from Leningrad to Moscow this summer with 230 Americans and 200 Soviets. The Soviet-American Peace Walk was organized by International Peace Walk, a group which grew out of The Great Peach March. It was co-sponsored by the Soviet Peace Committee, a branch of the Soviet government.

Please turn the page . . .



The Soviets are colorful, festive people full of life. Almost every night we were entertained with folk dancers, music and singing. Sometimes we had huge friendship fires when we would all dance and sing together.



From the moment we left customs (without inspection) at the Leningrad airport until we reached Moscow, we were greeted by crowds of Soviets. Hundreds, thousands and tens of thousands of people would gather at daily rallies to say how much they wanted peace and friendship with the United States and its peoples.



The Soviet people are an idea of peace. They lost World War II and the molished. They remen and never wish it to o

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The Soviets are colorful, festive people full of life. Almost every night we were entertained with folk dancers, music and singing. Sometimes we had huge friendship fires when we would all dance and sing together.



For a month the Soviet and American walkers walked together, played music together, and talked together about everything from chewing gum to the arms race and our stereotypes about each other. During this time we formed close bonds and deep friendships.



The Soviet people are preoccupied with the idea of peace. They lost 20 million people in World War II and their country was demolished. They remember this horror vividly and never wish it to occur again.



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For a month the Soviet and American walkers walked together, played music together, and talked together about everything from chewing gum to the arms race and our stereotypes about each other. During this time we formed close bonds and deep friendships.



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Taica Unanue-Bortin is a student of photography and women's studies at UCSC. She has a slide show from the Soviet Union which is available to any group or school in the community. To arrange a slide show contact her at 475-5319.

*photos by Taica Unanue-Bortin
design by Ellen Hodges*

around the ceiling

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American Peace Test Organizers Face Conspiracy Charges

by Tom Lynch

A trial with major significance for the peace movement and for the civil liberties of all Americans is scheduled to begin on November 16, 1987. Fortunately for the government, this trial will probably not receive the widespread media attention it merits because it will occur in the isolated town of Tonopah, Nevada.

Two organizers with the American Peace Test—Jessie Cocks and Peter Bergel—have been charged with "Conspiracy to Commit Trespass" for their efforts to organize civil disobedience actions at the Nevada Test Site. Both are long-time peace movement activists who have been involved with APT since its inception.

Early on the morning of November 17, 1986, in the pre-dawn light of the Mojave desert, Cocks and Bergel were helping facilitate the movement of people at a civil disobedience action at the test site. Both were using bullhorns to assist people in safely crossing roads, to help them line up so they would be out of traffic, and to arrange an orderly process of civil disobedience. In addition—in the spirit of nonviolent openness which APT has always followed—Cocks and Bergel had met several times with Capt. Jim Merlino of the Nye County Nevada Sheriff's office to inform him of the likely size of the protest and of the likely types of civil disobedience to be engaged in.

These actions, plus a flyer announcing the protest—which neither of the defendants authored—seem to constitute the sole evidence for the charges which could land Cocks and Bergel in jail for one year and fine them \$2000. Ironically, though 70 people were arrested that November morning, neither Cocks nor Bergel entered the test site, and in fact no crime of trespass was even committed by the people who did, since all charges were dropped by the district attorney. Cocks and Bergel are being charged with conspiring to commit a crime that never occurred.

In spite of this obvious flaw in his case, Nye County District Attorney Phil Dunleavy seems intent on pursuing the charges. He appears to have adopted a new approach in his strategy to stop protests. Prior to January 1987, when Dunleavy took office, the prosecution had invoked an escalating scale of penalties for convicted protesters. Dunleavy initially seemed to be prepared to "throw the book" at civil disobedients. But, immediately prior to a trial scheduled in January 1987, which—due largely to the fact that such celebrities as Carl Sagan and Martin Sheen were among the defendants—had gained national media attention, he dropped all charges. Dunleavy subsequently announced that he would no longer prosecute people arrested for civil disobedience at the test site. He now seems intent on isolating the movement's "leaders" and charging them for the alleged crimes committed by others.

As Stan Hunterton and Jackie Naylor, the Las Vegas attorneys representing

Cocks and Bergel have pointed out, such a prosecution policy poses a serious threat to the First Amendment right of free speech.

Both the free speech issue and the technical flaws in the prosecution's case will be used by Hunterton and Naylor in their defense of the APT organizers. But from the perspective of the peace movement two even more important defenses will be utilized—International Law and Necessity. It has always been the conviction of APT organizers that actions which are technically "trespass" at the Nevada Test

United Nations. . . [It] would . . . cause indiscriminate suffering and destruction to mankind and civilization and, as such, is contrary to the rules of international law."

4) The 1977 Protocol additions to the Geneva Conventions of 1949 which state that "the Parties to a conflict shall at all times distinguish between the civilian population and combatants." "It is prohibited to employ weapons, projectiles, and material and methods of warfare of a nature to cause superfluous injury or unnecessary suffering." And further that,



Site, and which under other circumstances might be considered "crimes," are in fact legal and justified because the testing of nuclear weapons is itself a crime. People who enter the Nevada Test Site or who block access to the test site are attempting to uphold International Law.

Article VI, Clause 2 of the U.S. Constitution states that ". . . all treaties made . . . under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land." APT organizers contend that sev-

"It is prohibited to employ methods or means of warfare which are intended, or may be expected, to cause widespread, long-term and severe damage to the natural environment."

The existence of these treaty obligations gives APT organizers, including Cocks and Bergel, probable cause to believe that crimes are being committed continuously at the Nevada Test Site. They and others have repeatedly asked public authorities, from the Nye County

and Bergel are convicted an atmosphere will be created in which people may face prosecution for holding planning meetings for civil disobedience, for conducting nonviolence training, for assisting the movement of people at civil disobedience actions, and even for meeting with legal authorities to discuss an upcoming act of civil disobedience.

As attorneys Hunterton and Naylor point out, the effect of successful prosecution of Cocks and Bergel would be to "discourage responsible nonviolent leadership and to discourage the very communication which has helped insure the safety of demonstrators, workers and law enforcement personnel." Conviction of Cocks and Bergel might also have a chilling effect on organizers of other civil disobedience actions. If it is a crime to simply plan such an action, to discuss such an action with law enforcement personnel, and to facilitate the safety of large groups of people along a highway during such an action, then political organizers around the country may be intimidated into not organizing civil disobedience actions.

Fortunately, APT organizers, and others organizing at the Nevada Test Site, have not been so intimidated. Since Cocks and Bergel were charged in January, 2147 arrests have been made at the test site. This brings the total number of arrests for civil disobedience there to 3202.

Additionally, APT has planned a major action at the test site for March 11–20, 1988. This protest—"Reclaim the Test Site"—is the boldest yet undertaken by APT, and includes plans for an occupation of part of the test site, and ongoing blockades of access into the test site. Organizers hope that everyone who has previously been to a test site protest will return, and that everyone who has thought about attending an action in the past but has been unable to do so, will take this opportunity.

Probably the best response that peace activists around the country can make to this trial is to begin planning now to attend the Reclaim the Test Site action. Additionally, they can use the trial as an organizing focus in their local communities. The occurrence of this trial provides an excellent opportunity for activists to discuss in their local media the illegality of nuclear testing and the need for a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. They are being encouraged to write letters to the editor and to seek the publication of articles such as this one in their local and movement press.

For information on the trial contact the APT Clearinghouse, 333 State St., Salem, OR 97301, (505) 371-8002 or the Las Vegas office at (702) 363-7875. Media and organizing packets are now available. For information on the Reclaim the Test Site action contact the Eastern action office at (814) 335-8023, or the Western action office at (503) 484-2877. Donations may be made out to "APT Defense Fund" and sent to the Clearinghouse. Jessie and Peter are also available for speaking engagements as work and travel arrangements permit.

Conviction of Cocks and Bergel might have a chilling effect on organizers of other civil disobedience actions.

eral treaties made under the authority of the United States are being violated by the testing of nuclear weapons. Among the more important of these are:

1) The Hague convention of 1907 which states that "Belligerents are specifically forbidden . . . to employ arms [or] projectiles . . . calculated to cause unnecessary suffering."

2) The Nuremberg Principles of 1950 which state that "Planning [or] preparation . . . of a war of aggression or a war in violation of international treaties, agreements or assurances," is a crime against the peace.

3) UN General Assembly Resolution 1653 adopted in 1961, which states that ". . . The use of nuclear . . . weapons is . . . a direct violation of the Charter of the

Sheriff to the U.S. Secretary of State, to look into this allegation—without response. Therefore, they contend, the commission of civil disobedience is not a criminal act, but rather, it is an act by responsible citizens to prevent the commission of a crime.

Cocks and Bergel say an impressive list of witnesses has agreed to testify in their defense, including Dr. Sagan, Sheen, Admiral Eugene LaRoque (Ret.), Detroit Catholic Bishop Thomas Gumbleton, International Law Professor Francis Boyle, and South Dakota Health Director Dr. Carl Johnson.

All peace activists, or political organizers for any cause, who engage in civil disobedience, should be especially interested in the outcome of this trial. If Cocks

Two Styles of Direct Action

On two consecutive nights this last month, Santa Cruz was visited by practitioners of direct action: Jim Douglass from Ground Zero in Bangor, Washington, and Katya Komisaruk, whose lone disarmament action at Vandenberg Air Force Base last June resulted in stiff charges. The two talks provided an interesting contrast in direct action styles, if not philosophies.

Jim and Shelly Douglass have been building a Christian community of resistance against nuclear weapons since 1981. Operating out of a house just outside of the Trident submarine base at Bangor, Ground Zero has set up a network of antinuclear activists which stretches all the way to Pantex, Texas, where all nuclear weapons are assembled. This network has been identifying, tracking, and blocking the trains which carry the nuclear warheads from Pantex to Bangor.

In the unseasonable heat wave of early October, Jim Douglass met with about 25 interested Santa Cruzans to talk about what "stopping the train" meant. Having visited Concord Naval Weapons Station on the way down, much of the focus of Douglass' remarks involved the maiming of Brian Willson while attempting to block the Concord train which carries weapons meant for Central America.

Douglass spoke about the "evil" of nuclear weapons and the national security state which supports them. For Douglass, nonviolent action means offering our lives in resistance to evil, with active love; nonviolence is "a prayer in action, an openness to the Spirit's will." Brian Willson, in risking his life to prevent violence, was a martyr, in the literal sense of the word, which Douglass said meant "living witness." Martyrs were necessary, according to Douglass, to transform us into the kind of beings that can overcome the violence of nation-states. Such transformation was evident in Willson, Douglass said, who had been given the same wounds as the poor and maimed in Nicaragua. "Transformation," said Douglass, "is the process of responding to suffering



by taking it onto ourselves."

A different but no less dedicated spirit is apparent in Katya Komisaruk, who damaged a computer connected to the Navstar communications system at Vandenberg Air Force Base, which enables the precise targeting necessary for the American strategy of nuclear first strike. Last June, with a small backpack containing a crowbar, cordless drill, hammer, and other tools, she hitchhiked from San Francisco to Vandenberg Air Force Base, which is just above Santa Barbara.

Following her USGS maps, which show the location of all the buildings at Vandenberg, she hiked to the Navstar complex. At the gate, which was wide open, she left a bouquet of red, white, and blue flowers, a box of Mrs. Field's cookies, and a greeting card. Inside the greeting card, she wrote: "I have no gun, You must have lots, Let's not be hasty, No cheap shots." Komisaruk described herself at the time as "very scared. My heart was just thumping, and I expected to see security guards any minute." But no guards appeared during the entire time she was there.

After finding and damaging the computer, Komisaruk had to decide whether to search for some security guards in order to turn herself in immediately or leave undetected. She thought that since Air Force security would most likely



DAVE EASON

interrogate her all night, and that she "wanted a shower more than anything else in the world," she would go home first. So she left the base, hitchhiked to San Francisco, and called a press conference the next day to turn herself in to the FBI at the Federal Building.

Charged with two felonies, Komisaruk faces a sentence of 20 years in prison, a \$500,000 fine, and a liability of a million dollars in restitution for the damage. Yet her wryly comic and open manner almost makes one forget the seriousness of her situation. She seems like just an everyday

sort of person, who decided to do the best she could to prevent a nuclear war.

Indeed, a letter from Komisaruk recently appeared in the nationally published Miss Manners column. Was a purchased, rather than homemade, greeting card okay to leave for the security guards, Komisaruk wanted to know, and what should she wear to the trial to show the jurors that she was a respectable person sincerely concerned about nuclear war? Komisaruk's sense of humor combines with her obvious commitment to make her action accessible, an understandable reaction to the imminent danger of nuclear holocaust.

[During Komisaruk's pretrial hearings, the Federal prosecutor is attempting to pass a motion limiting her ability to present the reasons behind her action, or any defense based on international law. Persons wishing to help with her legal support or go to her trial (which begins Nov. 6 at the Los Angeles Federal Courthouse) can call (415) 334-2734.]

Noel Sturgeon is an activist and student of the direct action movement. Any comments on this column, or information on past or upcoming direct actions can be sent to her c/o The Monthly Planet.

Upcoming Direct Actions in November (National and Local)

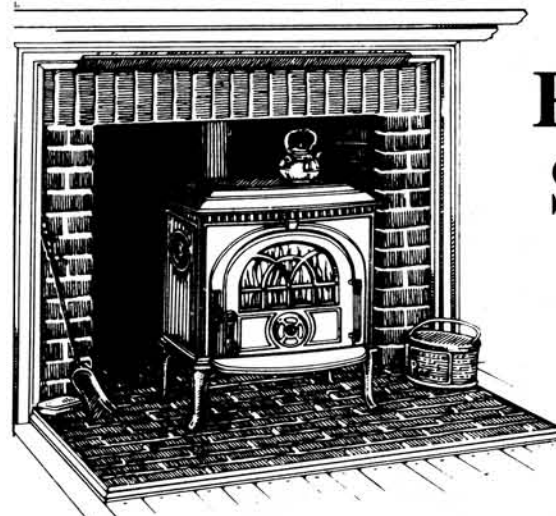
- Ongoing: Nuremberg Actions at the Concord Naval Weapons Station. Daily presence to protest US war in Central America (408) 426-7822 or (415) 933-7850
- Middle East Alert Network. On the day after any major US military attack in the Middle East, meet at 5 pm at Powell and Market Streets, SF, or call (415) 549-3077
- 7-9 Nevada Test Site: Catholic Worker gathering honoring Dorothy Day's birthday. (213) 267-8789
- 13 Washington, D.C. 13th anniversary of Karen Silkwood's death. Action at Nuclear Regulatory Commission Headquarters in Long Island. SHAD Alliance, (516) 360-0045

Update on Previous Action


— Well over 600 people were arrested at the Supreme Court on October 12, to protest anti-gay court rulings as part of the March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay rights, which was attended by over 600,000 people.

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The INF Treaty: A Look Behind the Scenes

by Terry Teitelbaum

Oh, how the world loves an arms control agreement. The proposed INF (Intermediate-range nuclear forces) treaty between the United States and Soviet Union has sent waves of excitement through the news media which

Analysis

are reporting on any and every item related to the treaty and superpower relations. Such reports have tended to reflect an upbeat mood and high hopes for a meaningful superpower agreement.

Indeed, it seems that the superpowers are approaching their first arms control agreement since 1979. Both President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev have compelling political reasons for wanting to sign a treaty: Reagan is eager for a victory in the midst of the worst "leadership crisis" of his presidency, and a substantive arms pact

would enhance Gorbachev's credibility, granting him an easier time implementing domestic reforms.

Currently being negotiated is what has been called the "zero-zero" or "double zero" option. These names

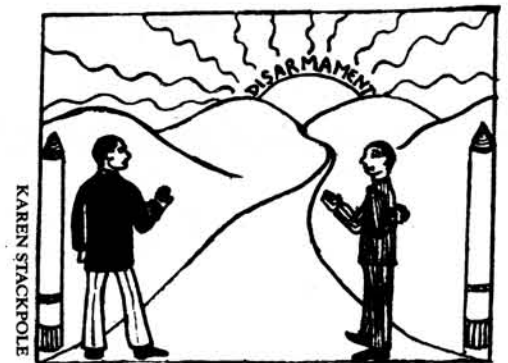
will eliminate 1,515 warheads while the United States is slated to dismantle 316 warheads. In spite of this imbalance, Gorbachev has moved steadily toward acceptance of the accord ever since gaining power.

Is today's Ronald Reagan the same man who spoke so boldly of prevailing in a nuclear war?

refer to the scrapping of the superpowers' land-based European missiles in two categories—medium and short range. Medium-range missiles have a range of 1,000 to 3,400 miles; short-range missiles can strike targets 300 to 1,000 miles away. Together both classes of weapons are known as "intermediate-range nuclear forces."

Under the plan, the Soviet Union

Until recently, the major obstacle to finalizing the treaty had been the problem of how to classify 72 Pershing 1A missiles owned by West Germany. Because the U.S. controls the warheads on the missiles, the Soviets insisted on including them in the treaty's text. But the American negotiators, not wishing to discuss allied forces in bilateral talks, refused. When a compromise was finally



reached, both sides declared that a major breakthrough had occurred.

Nonetheless, we may be a long way off from its actual signing.

Though basic understandings have now been achieved on most terms of the treaty, including the sticky issue of how to phase out the Pershing 1A missiles in West Germany, some important details on verification methods have yet to be worked out. These and the other remaining items to be negotiated, however, are not expected to block conclusion of the pact.

But a more troublesome obstacle has just surfaced. In a reportedly "unexpected" move, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev caught the administration off guard when he announced that differences over the development of space-based weapons must be resolved before he will set a date for a summit meeting to sign the INF treaty. Gorbachev did, however, leave open the possibility that a treaty could be signed without a meeting of the two leaders.

To try to understand the motives behind such posturing one must look not only at the proposed INF treaty, but also at the role the accord plays in superpower relations.

The INF treaty, by itself, is quite a modest agreement. While it provides for the elimination of a whole class of nuclear missiles from Europe (those with a range of 300 to 3,400 miles), it covers only 2 percent of the U.S. nuclear arsenal and 4.5 percent of the Soviet nuclear arsenal.

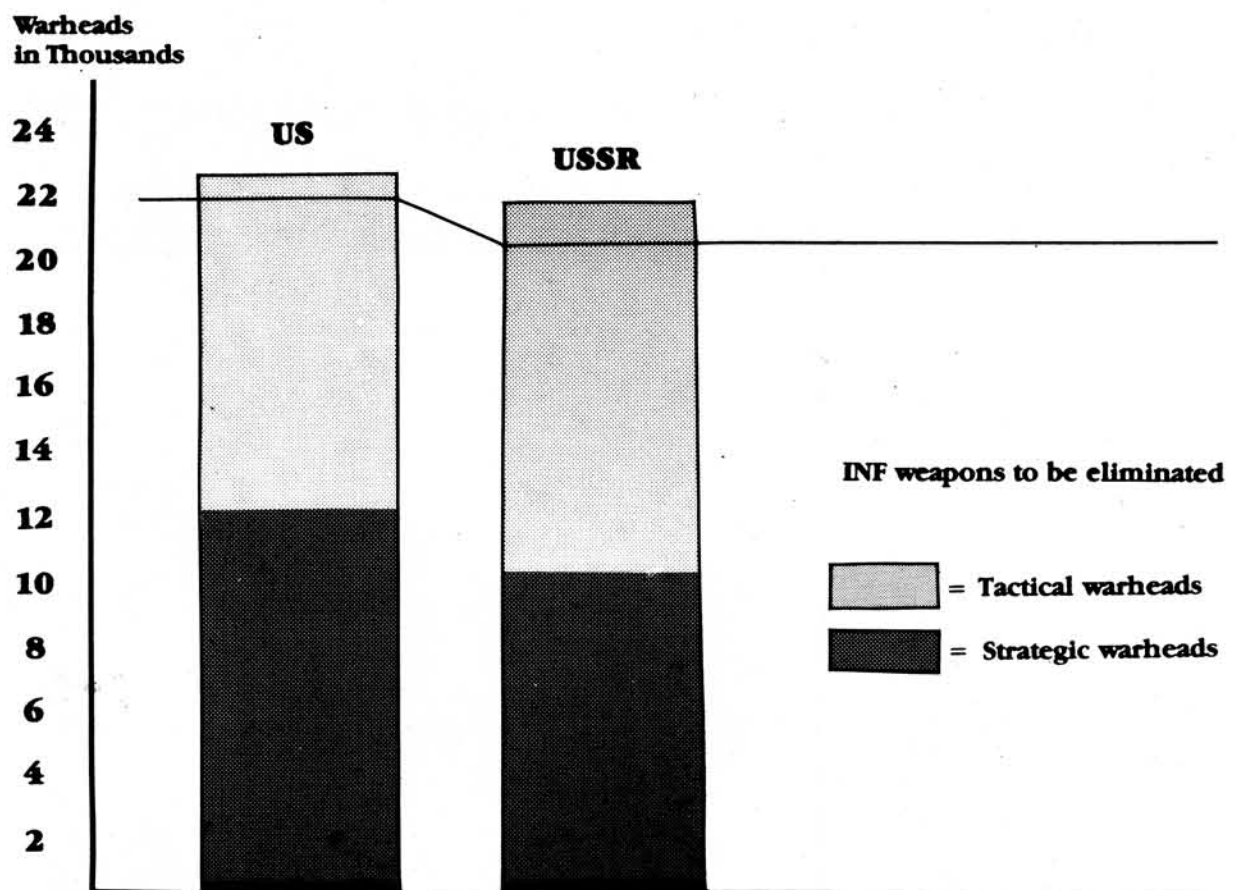
The proposed treaty is modest in its overall potential effect on the balance of forces as well. Plans are already underway in the United States to counter such potential effects through the use of conventional weapons such as highly accurate non-nuclear cruise missiles and modified B-52 bombers equipped with "Stealth" technology which allows them to fly undetected past Soviet radar. Also, it is possible that once U.S. INF missiles are actually destroyed, the plutonium from them will be "recycled" into new weapons not covered by the treaty.

From the preceding discussion we see that the significance of the INF treaty does not lie in the limited reductions it calls for. To find its true significance, we must look behind the scenes at all of the actors involved—in the White House, Congress and the Soviet Union. A further examination reveals dramatic political maneuvers, manipulations and grandiose posturing in a rapidly changing play of international relations with supporters and opponents of the treaty acting out their roles to the hilt.

Division Within The White House

Can this be the same Reagan administration which charged into the White House in 1980 condemning the Soviets as the "evil empire?" Is today's Ronald Reagan the same man who spoke so bold-

The Superpower Nuclear Arsenal



Strategic weapons are the bombs and cruise missiles on long-range bombers, plus the warheads on submarine-launched and intercontinental ballistic missiles. Tactical weapons include those on tactical bombers and fighter aircraft, intermediate-range nuclear missiles, battlefield missiles, submarine-launched cruise missiles, and nuclear artillery.

Sources: Center for Defense Information, "U.S.-Soviet Strategic Nuclear Forces," CDI fact sheet, April 1987; International Institute for Strategic Studies, *Military Balance '86-'87* (London: IISS), 1987; "Will the Reagan Administration Accept Its Own INF Proposal?" *Arms Control Today*, April 1987; Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, *World Armaments and Disarmament: SIPRI Yearbook 1986* (Stockholm: SIPRI) 1986; Department of Defense, *Soviet Military Power* (Washington, DC: DOD), 1987.

CHART: SANE/FREEZE

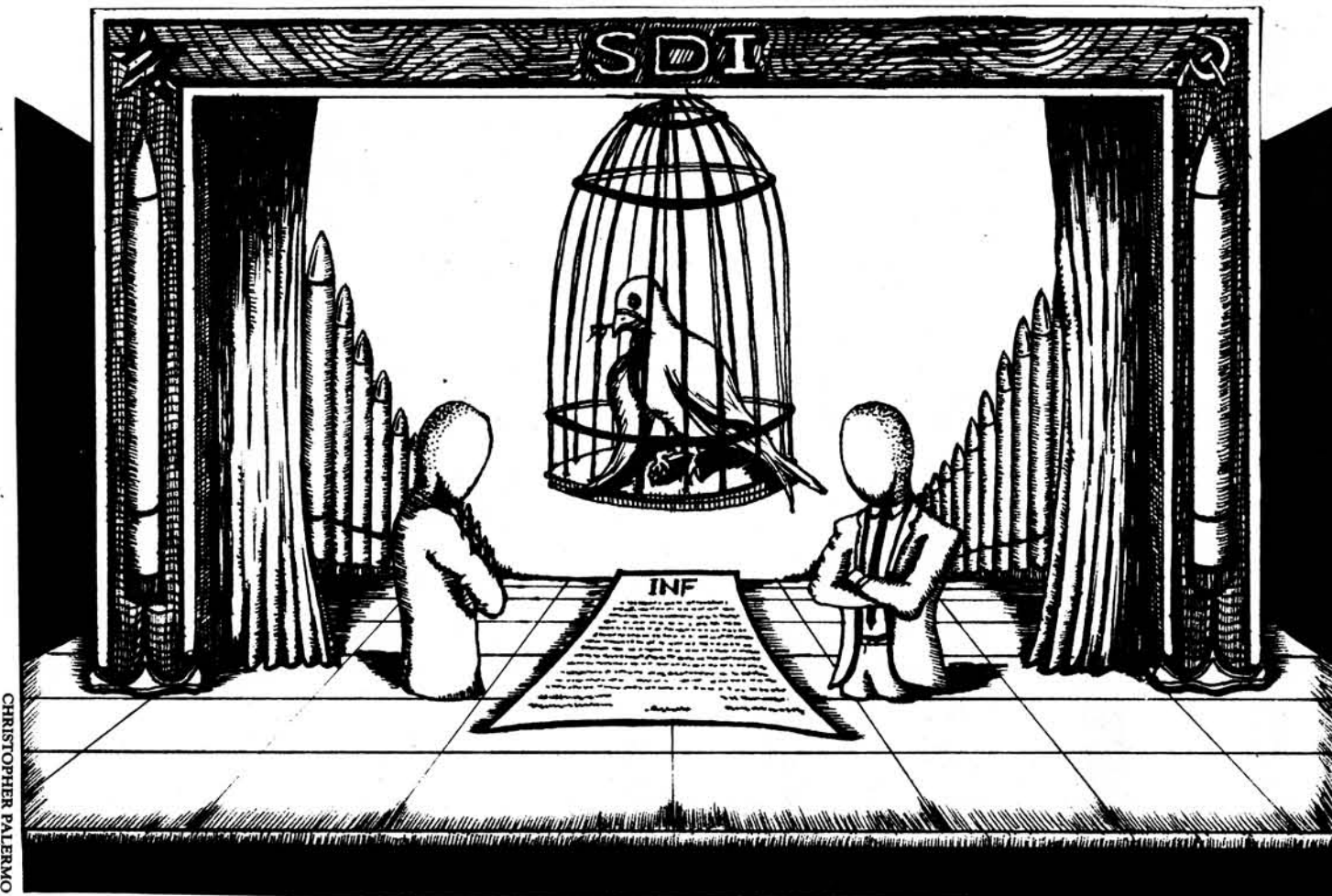
ly of prevailing in a nuclear war? Yes, this is the same man—a man who is now barely surviving the Iran-Contra scandal and who desperately wants to make his mark on history with an arms control agreement. It is ironic to note at this point that amidst the biggest military and nuclear buildup in history, Ronald Reagan will be the first president ever to agree to actually get rid of some nuclear weapons.

As such, he finds himself in an interesting predicament. He must now convince those very conservative factions in his administration that perhaps we can trust the Russians after all.

Hardliners within the administration often cite a long list of alleged Soviet treaty violations as evidence that you can't trust the Russians. However, a closer look at these allegations reveals unsubstantiated and admittedly ambiguous charges. In fact, an 18-month study of arms control treaty compliance by a group of 22 leading experts in arms control research has shown basic treaty compliance by both the United States and the Soviet Union.

To appease hardline attitudes within the administration, U.S. INF negotiators originally demanded that the Soviets agree to stringent verification measures, including on-site inspection, something U.S. officials never dreamed the Soviets would agree to. When the Soviets did agree to such measures which included inspections of missiles and launchers, testing grounds, manufacturing works, training centers and more, the U.S. backed off, fearing that if we agreed, the Soviets would see much more than we were really willing to show. It seems U.S. officials really didn't mean to demand such strong measures after all. To those within the administration who are serious about the treaty, the demand was a "test" to see how far the Soviets would go to get an agreement. To hardline opponents to the treaty (who, in fact, oppose even talking to the Soviets), the demand for intrusive on-site inspection represented a chance to undermine the negotiations by setting such "unreasonable conditions." Both camps were surprised when the Soviets called our bluff.

Division in the White House currently involves an internal debate over Star Wars and the ABM Treaty. The ABM Treaty, signed by the Soviet Union and United States in 1972, prohibits the development and testing of systems which could defend against offensive nuclear weapons. In order to go ahead with Star



CHRISTOPHER PALERMO

Wars, the Reagan administration has claimed that under a "broad interpretation" of the treaty it is permissible to research and test some components for a defensive "space shield." Some administration officials hold that we should negotiate limits on space-based weapons and stick to the original interpretation of the ABM Treaty which prohibits testing of space weapons.

A leading proponent of this view is Paul H. Nitze, senior arms control advisor to the Secretary of State. The Soviets, until very recently, were demanding that negotiations beyond the INF agreement on cutting long-range nuclear missiles include talks on Star Wars. Now, they are demanding such talks be linked to the INF summit meeting. It is unclear at this time what Nitze's and other White House moderates' reaction to this demand will be, however their hands are strengthened by this new Soviet announcement. If the president wants an INF summit badly enough, he may just end up agreeing to link Star Wars talks to long-range missile reduction talks if the Soviets will agree to set a summit date. An added twist to the plot is that Congress has been moving

toward limiting Star Wars testing anyway.

Administration hardliners include Kenneth Adelman, director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency; Caspar Weinberger, secretary of defense; and Edward L. Rowny, special advisor to Reagan on arms control. They are exceptionally cautious and have expressed extreme distrust of Soviet intentions. They feel that the U.S. should proceed with the "broad interpretation" of the ABM Treaty and not give an inch on Star Wars in negotiations. They justify this stand by maintaining that an active Star Wars testing program will spur the Soviets on to agree to further weapons reductions. However, it is highly improbable that they would ever advocate giving up Star Wars no matter how far the Soviets went.

Caspar Weinberger demonstrated his lack of enthusiasm for the INF treaty by ordering tests on hardware for the first phase of a Star Wars "missile shield" less than three hours after President Reagan publicly announced the tentative agreement with the Soviets. While the Pentagon claimed that the timing of the tests was a coincidence, one official added, "The mere development of the option

for phased deployment of strategic defense can help motivate Soviet acceptance of U.S. arms-reduction proposals."

Congress vs. Reagan

Of course, the White House isn't the only place in the U.S. government where there is division over the treaty and Star Wars. The administration faces opposition on arms control from both Democrats and Republicans in Congress.

Conservative Republicans are grasping at straws to undermine the INF treaty by urging the president to charge Moscow with a violation of the ABM Treaty (which, ironically, Reagan would just as soon scrap). The violation involves two old radars that have been seen at an electronics installation near Kiev, in the Ukraine. The administration has already cited these radars as a potential violation of the ABM Treaty, yet has admitted that such charges were ambiguous. To date, Reagan has not raised the issue with the Soviets.

Some Democratic senators have invoked the ABM Treaty as well. They are

continued on page 22

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The INF Treaty

continued from page 21

threatening to oppose the INF treaty if the administration does not change its broad interpretation to a more narrow one which prohibits Star Wars tests.

The Democrat-controlled Senate has passed legislation to back up this threat. Ignoring warnings of a certain presidential veto based on the premise that the measure would "tie the president's hands" in negotiations, the Senate approved a Department of Defense authorization bill containing two arms control amendments. One amendment prohibits spending for advanced testing of Star Wars and requires congressional approval before the president could act on his "broad interpretation" of the ABM treaty. The other amendment prohibits spending of Federal funds for weapons which would exceed the limits for missile launchers and heavy bombers included in the unratified 1979 SALT II agreement. (The administration has already exceeded those limits as of last November.) Senate Democrats claim they will attach these same measures to another bill late this year if the president vetoes the legislation. It appears that Congress is strengthening its resolve to enforce arms control measures. It has backed down before, however, and may do so again.

Gorbachev Takes The Initiative

While White House officials and members of Congress battle it out amongst

themselves over how tall to stand in the saddle, General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev has upstaged them all by making some of the most sweeping foreign policy proposals to ever come out of the Soviet Union. Up until his most recent announcement linking Star Wars and the

Both the European and American peace movement will continue to push for more comprehensive measures.

INF summit, he has been a virtual model of conciliation and cooperation.

As a backdrop to the INF negotiations, it is interesting to look at some of the new Soviet goals as put forth by Gorbachev. These include:

- An accord to cut strategic nuclear missiles by 50 percent and set limits on development of space-based weapons.
- A treaty to ban nuclear testing
- A settlement of the war in Afghanistan
- Western endorsement of a human rights conference to be held in Moscow.

Other stated goals include expanding diplomatic and commercial ties with Arab states, particularly Egypt and Saudi Arabia, and rebuilding relations with Israel to regain influence in the peace process.

To demonstrate that the Soviet Union

really is changing, as part of his policy of glasnost, Gorbachev has eased emigration restrictions, freed dozens of dissidents and has shown greater tolerance for criticism of the government. Other recent progressive Gorbachev moves include:

- An invitation to a team from the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to inspect safety arrangements at a civilian nuclear power plant. Agency officials have interpreted this invitation as both an effort to reassure the Soviet

East/West cooperation to reduce military activities and tap natural resources in the area.

- A proposal for talks on curbing military activities in Europe's northern seas.
- The opening of the Soviets' Krasnoyarsk radar to a congressional delegation and a team of experts from the Natural Resources Defense Council. The Krasnoyarsk radar has long been a point of contention for the Reagan administration which has cited it as a violation of the ABM Treaty. The congressional delegation reported that it was unlikely that the radar was actually part of an ABM defense system.

Gorbachev has also called for strengthening the United Nations, including "wider use" of U.N. peacekeeping forces and expanded authority for the Security Council and World Court. He recently stated that the U.N. should have more power to regulate military conflicts, economic relationships and the environment. Also, he thinks the security council should be more active in verifying compliance with arms control and peace treaties. To put his money where his mouth is, he announced that the Soviet Union will pay all of its debts to the United Nations, a sum equaling \$197 million. (Incidentally, the United States remains the U.N.'s largest single debtor, owing a total of \$414.2 million with no announced plans to pay.)

These announcements all came forth within the last two months. Startling as they are, they still don't top Gorbachev's most dramatic foreign policy act of all—the self-imposed 18-month nuclear weapons moratorium. A year and a half with

people (and the world) that Soviet reactors are safe as well as a way to strengthen the IAEA in its role to enforce the nuclear nonproliferation treaty intended to ban the spread of atomic weapons. (Both the United States and the Soviet Union have signed this treaty.)

• The opening of the Soviets' chemical warfare center to diplomats and experts from 45 countries, including the United States. For years the United States has complained that there was no way to determine the size of the Soviets' stockpile of such weapons. The Soviets are now saying that not only will they show what they have, but they will destroy the stockpiles in order to prevent the United States from going ahead with plans to stockpile chemical weapons.

- A proposal to create a "zone of peace" in the Arctic region and a call for

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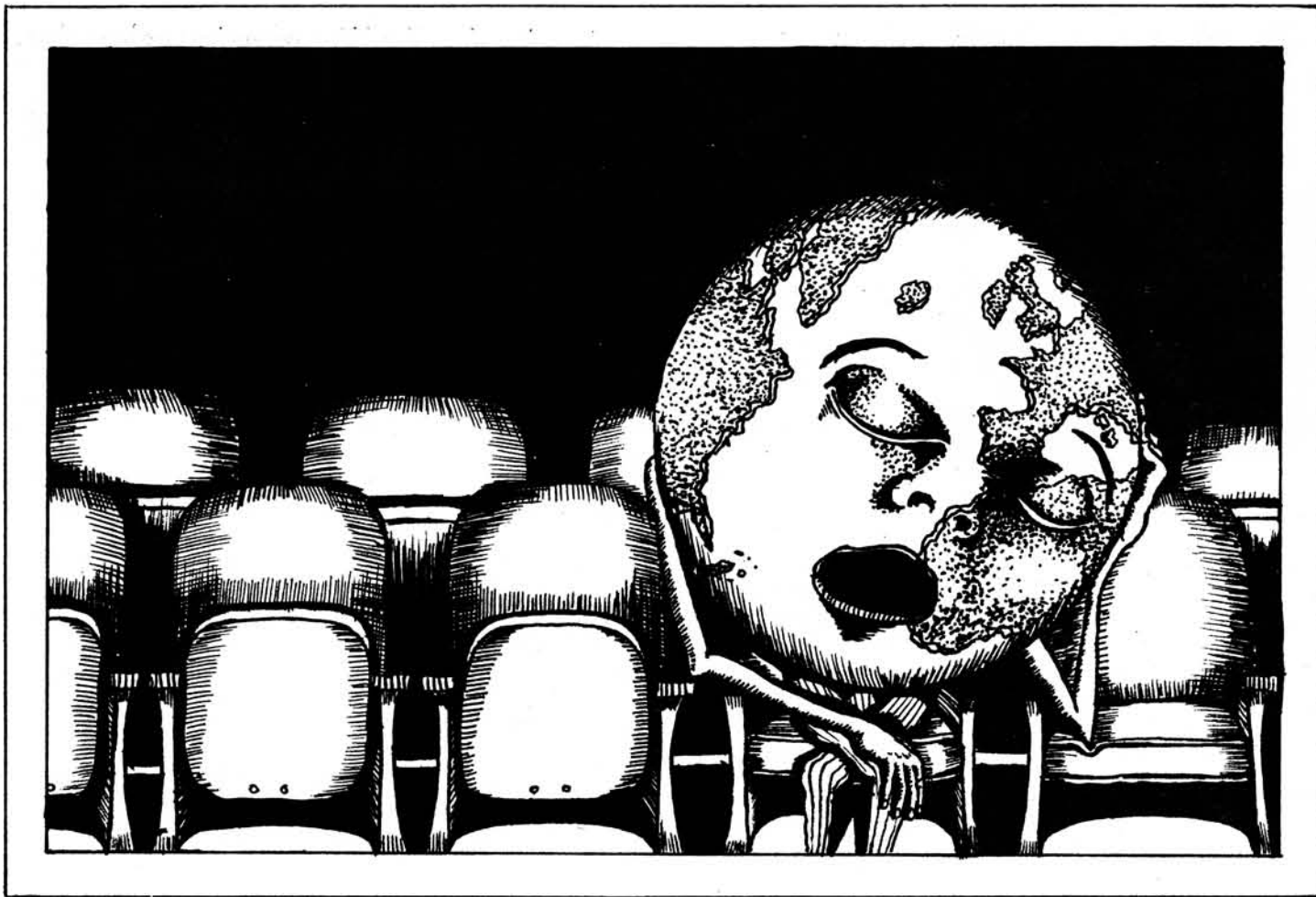
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no Soviet nuclear tests at all made those who cried propaganda at every hint of Soviet goodwill look a little silly. Even the most skeptical should have admitted (although many didn't) that perhaps the Soviets are sincere.

Nonskeptics now have reason to question Soviet sincerity, however, as they ask: Why the switch on linking Star Wars to the INF summit? In Washington, White House officials are reeling after Gorbachev's most recent demand that Star Wars be tied to the INF summit. Speculation about Gorbachev's motive includes a belief he is trying to take advantage of Reagan's vulnerability in the wake of the U.S. stock market crash. It is more likely, however, that just as there is division within the White House over the proposed treaty and Star Wars, there is deep division within the Kremlin.

It is possible that hardliners in the Politburo have forced Gorbachev to back off from his decision to separate the INF missiles and the summit from Star Wars. The Soviets had, before Gorbachev took office, consistently insisted that all progress on offensive weapons be tied to limits on Star Wars. A series of flip-flops by Gorbachev followed when he "de-linked" Star Wars from INF at the first summit meeting with Reagan in Geneva, tied them together again after the second summit at Reykjavik in 1986 and then severed the link earlier this year. Time will tell what impact this latest move will have not only on the INF agreement but on subsequent negotiations on long-range missiles and other international security matters. It is clear, however, that Gorbachev will have to redouble his efforts to solidify support within the Kremlin for his domestic reforms as well as foreign policy goals in order to insure arms control progress.

The Stage Is Set

The INF treaty will hardly make a dent in the world's nuclear arsenals, if in fact

obstacles to its signing are even overcome. The events leading up to it, however, reflect a trend in international relations toward recognition that international cooperation will add more to international security than unending competition for more and better nuclear weapons.

Leaders in Western Europe have welcomed the INF talks as evidence that chilly U.S.-Soviet relations are warming up a bit. Yet while it is widely acknowledged that the treaty would have scant effect on the balance of forces in the European theater, there remains some worry that the agreement may lead to a denuclearized region which would end the United States' "nuclear guarantee" to deter a Soviet invasion of conventional forces. Raising such concerns serves to set the stage for future nuclear arms reduction talks to be linked to reductions in Soviet conventional forces. In fact,

such linkage will be necessary to insure the European allies' support of new agreements. Gorbachev has already indicated he is open to putting Soviet conventional forces on the bargaining table.

Further evidence that cold war attitudes are thawing can be found in a report from a bipartisan group of 40 prominent American political advisors and business leaders who met to discuss what opportunities could be gained from new Soviet policies. The group, made up of "centrist Republicans and centrist Democrats," sees Gorbachev's initiatives as rooted in the Soviet Union's domestic difficulties. The report concluded that "Gorbachev has challenged a whole series of ingrained practices and attitudes, from strictly centralized economic management to an often-militarized foreign policy." The group urged efforts by both sides to strengthen the ABM Treaty and proposed

initiatives by the United Nations, in the event of a Soviet pullout from Afghanistan, to "guarantee that Afghan territory would not be used to the detriment of Soviet security interests." The report represents a general softening of attitude toward the Soviet Union which can lead to a much more supportive domestic atmosphere in the United States for improved superpower relations and meaningful agreements than has existed for years.

Both the European and American peace movements will continue to push for more comprehensive measures. They have certainly welcomed the INF talks and proposed agreement, but see them as only the smallest of first steps to such agreements as a comprehensive test ban, ballistic missile flight test ban, comprehensive nuclear weapons freeze and eventual global nuclear disarmament. The U.S. House of Representatives has passed legislation to cut off funds for U.S. nuclear tests (as long as the Soviets do not test) and the Soviets have demonstrated quite clearly their resolve to end testing. The Reagan administration claims that a test ban is an eventual objective to be realized some time in the 21st century: it is committed to testing largely for development of Star Wars components.


The ultimate goal of global nuclear disarmament—embraced by the leaders (at least in word, if not by deed) and people of both the United States and the Soviet Union—seems a long way off. Yet the fact that the INF talks have come as far as they have is an important breakthrough. Even if a treaty isn't signed, the changes which have occurred within the United States, and more significantly, in the Soviet Union, cannot be underestimated nor their impact reversed. The world now knows it is possible for the United States to negotiate with the Soviet Union. And if the most conservative, anti-Soviet U.S. president in recent history can make a deal to get rid of nuclear weapons, well heck—just about anything is possible.

Terry Teitelbaum is the executive director of the Santa Cruz County Nuclear Weapons Freeze.

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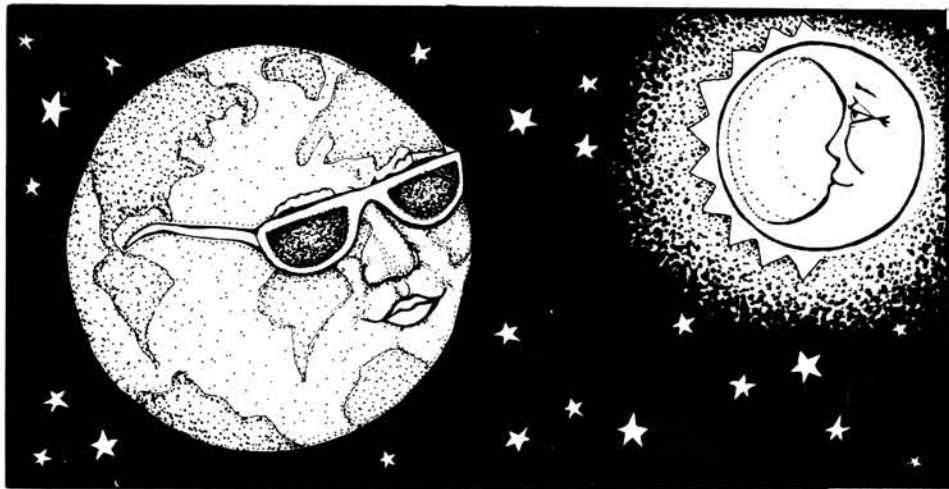
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DIANE RIGOLI

Planet Watch by Ralph Chernoff

France Greenpeace Wins Suit

The anti-nuclear, pro-environment group, Greenpeace, was awarded \$8.1 million in damages by an international tribunal in a suit arising out of the sinking of the organization's ship, the Rainbow Warrior. France, whose agents planted the bomb which sank the ship and killed

a crew member in July 1985 while it was docked in New Zealand, will pay the judgment.

The French agents sank the ship in order to prevent it from interfering with its nuclear tests in the western Pacific. Two of the agents were tried in New Zealand and sentenced to 10 years in prison for manslaughter. The agents have since been returned to French custody under

an earlier separate agreement between France and New Zealand. Under that agreement, which was negotiated by U.N. Secretary General Perez de Cuellar, France acknowledged its responsibility for the bombing and paid \$7 million in damages to New Zealand.

The tribunal's decision was a victory not only for Greenpeace and the fight against nuclear testing but also for international law. The judgment against a defendant sovereign state in favor of a private plaintiff for crimes committed by that state is unprecedented (the judgments at Nuremburg were against individual Nazi leaders, not the German State). "This precedent will hold all state security agencies to account in the future," said Lloyd Cutler, Greenpeace's attorney. CIA/Reagan administration please note.

Costa Rica Arias Wins Nobel Prize

President Oscar Arias Sanchez of Costa Rica was awarded the 1987 Nobel Peace Prize as the main architect of the "Guatemala Accord," the peace plan signed by five Central American countries on Aug. 7. The plan bars external aid to armed insurgents, such as the U.S.-backed Contras, in any Central American country. It also calls for cease-fires and negotiations between governments and "unarmed oppositions" in the signatory countries.

The Arias plan has met with undisguised hostility from the Reagan administration but warm support from Congress. White House hostility was expected in view of the fact that the Arias accord thwarted President Reagan's "peace plan" announced a few days earlier. The latter was flatly rejected by the Sandinista government of Nicaragua as a virtual demand that they surrender to the Contras. The administration had hoped to use that rejection to persuade Congress to agree to give the Contras \$270 million for fiscal year 1988, but that hope faded when congressional leaders threw their support to the Arias plan instead. And now, according to House Speaker Jim Wright, the Nobel award to Arias virtually assures that the request for Contra money will be rejected.

The Arias plan is to take effect by Nov. 7. In complying with the plan, Nicaragua has declared a unilateral cease-fire and has restored many civil liberties. The Contras have responded by stepping up their attacks.

Spain U.S. May Lose Bases

Negotiations between the United States and Spain on the future of U.S. air and naval bases in Spain have reached an impasse due to U.S. refusal to reduce its forces at those bases. Spain demands that the U.S. cut back its personnel (14,000 at present) and remove the 72 F-16 fighter-bombers now based there. The U.S. says it will agree to these demands only if Spanish forces under NATO control "assume the tasks" now being performed by U.S. forces, but this is unacceptable to the government of Prime Minister Gonzalez because of the unpopularity of Spain's ties to NATO.

The U.S. has three air bases and a naval base in Spain. The naval base, at Rota on Spain's southwest coast, is used by nuclear missile submarines. The air bases are used for training and to support military operations in the Mediterranean.

The bases are a major political liability for the Gonzalez regime because they are viewed as a vestige of the hated Franco regime, which agreed to the bases in 1953. Also, many Spaniards believe that they serve U.S. rather than Spanish security interests.

The 1953 treaty expires May 1988, but Spain must notify the U.S. by Nov. 13 this year if it chooses not to renew. Protesters against renewal plan a mass march to reach Madrid on that date.

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Brazil Nuclear Horror Story

Following a tragic encounter with nuclear technology, 44 Brazilians have been hospitalized with serious radiation sickness and burns. It began last Sept. 13 when a family of poor scrap metal scavengers tore apart a heavy lead-lined box which had been taken from an abandoned cancer clinic. Inside they found a small capsule containing a powder which glowed in the dark like a beautiful blue gem. They proudly showed this magic stuff to all their friends and neighbors. Many of them handled it, some took home a few grains as souvenirs. The family's six-year-old daughter, who had eaten a boiled egg shortly after handling the powder, was the first to fall ill. Within days the rest of the family came down with nausea and severe pain. So did many of their friends and neighbors. But it wasn't until the 28th that health authorities became aware of the problem when a man, already sick himself, plunked down some of the powder at a local clinic.

The powder was, of course, a radioactive substance—specifically, cesium 137, a waste product of nuclear reactors, which an enterprising First World medical equipment maker had packaged as a radiation source for cancer treatment and sold to a private clinic in a small Third World town. Cesium 137 is a particularly nasty radioactive isotope because it combines two bad properties: 1) slow decay (half-life is about 30 years), and 2) swift uptake by, and slow elimination from, the body when ingest-

ed. Cesium 137 contamination of cow's milk was one of the most serious effects of both atmospheric nuclear weapons tests and the Chernobyl disaster.

Doctors predict that several of the victims may soon die.

In blaming the government for the incident, one Brazilian scientist noted that, "control over radioactive equipment is practically non-existent" in that country. Others pointed out the obvious implications for the safety of Brazil's expanding nuclear industry.

Pakistan Still Wants the Bomb

Nagging fears of nuclear proliferation have been revived by Pakistan's ill-concealed nuclear bomb project. Conjecture that Pakistan would try to build bombs arose in the '70s after India exploded a nuclear bomb... ah, er... "device." Fed by accumulating evidence (e.g., the recent attempt to illegally export uranium enrichment equipment from the U.S.), that suspicion has grown to widely accepted belief.

The Pakistani nuclear weapon project poses a dilemma for the Reagan administration. On the one hand it hesitates to antagonize Pakistan, its sole conduit for arms to the Afghan rebels, and on the other, it must persuade Congress, which is very uneasy about Pakistan's nuclear intentions, to pay the required "fee," more aid for its current military regime. Up till now Congress has been willing to do that; in 1981 it exempted Pakistan from the law banning aid to countries

refusing international supervision of nuclear facilities. But that waiver expired Oct. 1 and the present (Democratic) Congress is reluctant to extend it.

Meanwhile, Pakistan now says that it will permit inspection of its nuclear facilities, but only if India follows suit. But India refuses to do so unless each of the five "known" nuclear powers permits such inspection, which, of course, they will not. And round and round we go...

Palau: Still Nuclear Free?

Murder and intrigue with strong nuclear overtones are reported from Palau, a tiny archipelago in the western Pacific. The U.S. administers the islands under a

United Nations trusteeship. In 1979 its 14,000 inhabitants voted to adopt a constitution which bans nuclear weapons from the islands. The U.S., however, wants Palau to accept a Compact of Free Association, which, while granting self-government to the Palauans, would effectively force them to repeal the nuclear free provision of their constitution. This they have refused to do, not just once, but in five successive referendums. The Compact was, however, approved in a sixth vote last August, but only after the Palau legislature changed the required number of "yes" votes from 75 percent to only 50 percent.

Shortly after this election, a lawyer named Roman Bedor sued to have the election set aside as unconstitutional. He argued that whereas the 1979 Constitution requires popular approval of all amendments, the amendment reducing the required vote to 50 percent was not referred to the voters. In September, Mr. Bedor's father was shot to death. Then the house of the speaker of the Palau legislature was shot at. Shortly thereafter, the island's Chief Justice stopped hearing Mr. Bedor's suit after receiving death threats. Mr. Bedor then withdrew his lawsuit, but an American judge has stated that the withdrawal "was brought about by intimidation through the use of violence."

The matter is now under investigation by the Insular Affairs Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives.

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Of Elections, Money and Congress

by Shelly D'Amour

Editor's note: As our way of honoring the 200th anniversary of the Constitution, The Monthly Planet is publishing a series of articles on "How Congress Works." One of the first steps in making government more responsive to its citizens is for citizens to learn the legislative process.

The American experiment in democracy has long treasured an open electoral process as the cornerstone of its system. Theoretically any citizen can run for public office. However, in these days of six- and seven-figure political campaigns, few can afford it. The 1986 Cranston/Zschau senatorial race in California cost an unprecedented \$22,000,000. What does it take to get elected in America? And, once elected, what's involved in holding on to one's seat?

Political Action Committees

More than any other single factor, successful fundraising will make or break a candidate's ability to get elected to public office. In the 1986 senatorial elections, winners outspent losers in 25 out of 34 Senate races, averaging 38 percent more in contributions than their challengers. Candidates invest a great deal of energy in fundraising—from pancake breakfasts to \$100-a-plate dinners, from wine-and-

cheese socials to wining and dining with potential contributors.

However, political analysts agree that no campaign can get off the ground financially without the assistance of political action committees (PACs). PACs are vehicles to raise money to support candidates for political office. Their activities are regulated by law under the auspices

of the Federal Election Commission (FEC). Currently there are 4157 PACs registered with the FEC, representing a full spectrum of interests. Of that number, 104 contributed more than \$100,000 to candidates in the 1986 election. This list includes 83 business PACs, 20 military contractors, 13 finance industry PACs, 8 insurance PACs and 7 communications PACs, according to Common Cause, a public interest organization.

Congress has limited PAC giving to \$5000 per candidate, per election. However, significant loopholes in the PAC laws have enabled PACs to observe the letter of the law, while circumventing its spirit. One such tactic is called "bundling," in which checks from individual contributors are made out directly to the candidate. These contributions are then collected by the PAC and delivered to the candidate. Only checks written directly from the PAC to the candidate count against the \$5000 limit.

Another method is to pay a speaker's honoraria to congressional candidates.

"They're tired of having to raise the money. They feel it's gotten out of hand. It's like the arms race."

There are minimal restrictions on how much honoraria money Congressmembers may make; and, as in the case of bundled contributions, honoraria fees contributed by political action committees also do not count against the \$5000 limit.

As might be expected, military PACs contribute heavily to candidates for political office, favoring incumbents by 87 percent. According to *Top Guns*, a Common Cause study released in August, the nation's 10 largest military contractors contributed almost \$3 million to congressional candidates during the 1986 elections, 41 percent of which went to incumbents serving on the House and Senate Armed Services Committees and the Defense Appropriations subcommittees. The largest single contributor was Lockheed, which donated \$425,671 to candidates for office. Other top contributors include Boeing, General Dynamics, General Electric, General Motors, Hughes Aircraft, Grumman, McDonnell Douglas, Raytheon, Rockwell and United Technologies.

Political action committees represent every conceivable interest and cause: from the oil industry to teachers, from trade unions to alcohol wholesalers, from veterans to real estate. Many, especially those representing progressive political causes, do not generally garner huge donations.

Chip Reynolds is the national director of Freeze Voter, a PAC which works to elect pro-freeze candidates to Congress. He sees a distinct difference in the mission and methods of Freeze Voter, as compared with other, more conventional PACs. "We recognize that electioneering is not enough. Our key objective is to build our organization and mobilize our constituency around the issues," he said, "always has been, always will." According to Reynolds, most of the approximately \$300,000 that was raised by Freeze Voter in 1986 went to support organizing and field work, with a small proportion going directly to candidates competing in tightly contested races.

The Home Advantage

Congressmembers, by virtue of their position, have what might be considered the home advantage when election time rolls around. For one thing, PAC giving overwhelmingly favors incumbents. Ac-

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ording to a study conducted by Common Cause, one-third of all PACs gave 80 percent or more of their contributions to incumbents during the 1986 elections. PAC funding contributed \$65 million to House incumbents, as compared with \$8 million to their challengers. This posits enormous financial obstacles to anyone considering their first bid to elected office.

Not only do incumbents have the edge on acquiring PAC funding. Years of experience on Capitol Hill, as well as within their political party, give congressmembers a level of access to the media and other forms of public recognition, (and therefore, to additional funding sources) that their competitors could never hope to equal.

Furthermore, members of Congress can utilize their franking privileges to send out newsletters, at no cost to them, to their constituency back home. Although congressmembers may not use their franking privilege to print and distribute materials which are specifically electoral in nature; the newsletters are a way to keep the voters apprised of their views and record of action on the issues. Finally, partially through the help of PAC donations, members are raising substantial amounts in surplus campaign funds, which are put toward future political battles.

District Lines

The legislature of each state determines the congressional district lines within that state, every 10 years following completion of the national census. This redistricting is known as gerrymandering when the process heavily favors the majority party and serves to minimize the minority party's voting strength. For example, in California, which has a Democratic majority in the state legislature, districts are drawn geographically to favor high concentrations of Democratic voters within the districts while minimizing or diluting geographic concentrations of Republican voters whenever possible. This practice, while not considered particularly ethical by some, is widespread. In the South, gerrymandering was used for many years to divide districts along racial lines, thereby diluting the strength of the black vote.

When all these factors are considered, it is not surprising that better than 95 percent of House incumbents are returned to office every two years. The current electoral system is a self-perpetuating



DIANE RIGOLI

one, and increased dependence by incumbents on political PACs for campaign financing is closing out the field to all but the most affluent challengers. But there are signs that Congress may soon be addressing the loopholes in the PAC laws, and make an attempt to rein in campaign spending.

Campaign Reform

The Senate Electoral Campaign Act (S.2), introduced by Senators David Boren (D-OK) and Robert Byrd (D-W. VA), would limit PAC contributions to \$3000 per candidate, eliminate bundling practices, place restrictions on campaign spending, and limit the use of candidates' personal wealth in financing their own campaign. A similar measure has been introduced in the House by Representatives Jim Leach (R-TX) and Tony Coelho (D-CA). If enacted in its current form, the legislation would provide for federally matching funds for congressional candidates. Currently these funds are only available to presidential candidates.

What could be the incentive for members of Congress to restrict their own access to campaign financing through the PAC system? "They're tired of having to raise the money," answered Common Cause's Northern California field director Daniel Kalb. "They feel it's gotten

out of hand. It's like the arms race." Since there are currently no limits on how much money a candidate can raise or spend, Kalb feels that candidates are raising such enormous political war chests out of a sense of self defense. "It's extremely competitive," he said, noting the spiraling trend. "First one raises so much money and then the other feels they have to. They go back and forth, back and forth."

Be that as it may, political will has been tested and found wanting in the Senate.

Since June, Senator Byrd has held seven unsuccessful votes in an effort to break a filibuster conducted by opponents to the campaign reform legislation. The last roll call fell only five votes short of the 60 needed to cut off debate and bring the measure to a floor vote. The bill has been temporarily pulled from consideration until after January 1. The House has yet to consider its own version of the legislation.

Kalb acknowledged that since PAC spending laws are complicated and often difficult to understand, especially for the layperson, attempts at reform are easily co-opted by congressmembers with less than pure intentions. In the case of S.2, various substitution amendments are expected to be offered that would weaken the legislation, one of which seeks to ease the already loose bundling practices.

When Congress takes up campaign spending reform again next spring, it will do so in the shadow of impending presidential and congressional elections. Their willingness to challenge that most sacred cow—PAC funding—will come at a critical time, both for incumbent congressional candidates and for the American people. As the cost of running for office soars dizzyingly out of reach of all but the most elite, Congress is being asked to restore some measure of balance and fairness so that a broader spectrum of Americans may participate in the electoral process.

Next month: a look at how citizens can influence Congress.

Shelly D'Amour is the legislative editor of The Monthly Planet.

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This list was compiled by the Santa Cruz Action Network for Lively Connections, an informal network of Santa Cruz County peace, social justice, and community organizations. To update information on the Lively Connections list, or to add your organization, call 458-9425. Mailing labels for this list are available for \$1.00.

Broadening the Peace Movement Agenda

As two of the largest peace organizations in the country enter the final stage of a merger process, we in the movement face an important challenge.

The first National Congress of our newly merged SANE/FREEZE organization meets in Cleveland this month. At this historic gathering, the question of mission will surely arise. It is another test of the new organization. Blending a single-issue movement, the FREEZE, with a broadly generalist arms control organization, SANE, seemed impossible in 1984, but today much has changed.

In fact, one fears that our new problem will be a lack of breadth, a lack of reaching far enough, an attachment to the outlines, theory, and tactics of a generalist agenda which has itself been outpaced by events. As a very young movement, the FREEZE has been accustomed to rapid change and constant reformation in order to survive. As a long-standing organization of three decades, SANE has an established identity and accustomed ways. In this winter-spring marriage, both will have to make adjustments, not only to each other, but to an amazing new opportunity in international relations, the re-birth of detente.

There is now a remarkable atmosphere of hope in the land and on the planet. But there is also great danger for the world community. The danger comes from three foreseeable sources: 1) the silent but ominously swift progress of international Star Wars contract letting, which means



ELLEN HODGES

action.

We are the people who first roused the world to the danger of nuclear weapons. Now we must go further; we must call for a future in which connections between the three dangers I describe are made plain to the public. And we must help develop a coherent program to address these problems.

This is a tall order; we are ordinary citizens, not fulltime planners. But we have already achieved much in terms of changing the terms of debate about nuclear weapons. We have been the voice

agement and making it all fit together under the common premise of human rights, we can identify ourselves with two of the most well-accepted public concerns of the last decade. As we have almost finished merging organizationally, it is time for us to begin uniting the separate

strands of peace, sustainability, and social justice, founded on a sound theoretical base consistent with enduring American values. No one else in American political life can or will do it. We can. Therefore we must.

Susan C. Strong chairs Northern California SANE/FREEZE.

NOTE: UPDATE ON PEACESAT: Representative Robert J. Mrazek (D-NY Third District) is at work on a bill calling for a presidential commission to plan ways to use satellite monitoring for increasing common security and international cooperation. Since Star Wars has become an international pork barrel problem, threatening even the current use of space for communication and reconnaissance, SANE/FREEZE must have a strong counter position and a clear alternative vision. Please write to Representative Mrazek to show your support for this bill and to ask for a copy of it as soon as it is introduced. It is in substance similar to the Peacesat concept described in previous columns. Peacesat would be a concrete expression of the just, sane, and sustainable world community we seek. Rep. Mrazek's address is: 306 House Office Building, Washington, D.C., 20515.

Blending a single-issue movement, the FREEZE, with a broadly generalist arms control organization, SANE, seemed impossible in 1984, but today much has changed.

that Star Wars is far from dead; 2) the economic instability of our own country, to say nothing of the world economy; and 3) the frightening ecological damage that is quietly being done to earth's natural resources and fertility on a daily basis.

Only the first of these three dangers is within the accustomed purview of either SANE or the FREEZE. Yet today citizens of the world are waking up to the reality of interdependence, in the world economy, in planetary ecology, and in a host of other areas. The principle holds true in arms control. In 1987, involvement with nuclear weapons draws one inevitably toward the other great unrecognized issues of our time, as Chernobyl graphically showed. Inextricably linked to the causes and consequences of nuclear weapons, these other issues demand cooperative attention from the world community. Someone must provide courageous and coherent leadership, calling attention to the linkages and to the need for concerted

of the people, and now it seems the leaders follow us.

We must again show our own vision and leadership by first facing reality ourselves. As a nation, the United States should be showing world leadership, on the ground of human rights, in curbing the nuclear threat, in pushing for political and economic realism and justice, in encouraging wise, cooperative management of the earth's resources, with protection of our earth's ecological balance. As an organization, SANE/FREEZE should be insisting that the U.S. fill this historic role and embody an integrated vision of a just, safe, and sustainable world community for the 21st century. We are no longer a single-issue movement, but we cannot now rest by calling for improvement of just a few pieces of the pie.

Some may argue that to include a broad environmental concern within our mission will open us to opposition from many more quarters than we have so far seen. But, by adding environmental man-

Join The Freeze!

The Nuclear Weapons Freeze in Santa Cruz County is funded entirely by membership dues and contributions from local supporters. Where does the money go? To office rent, director's salary, telephones, postage, printing and copying, utilities, bookkeeping, and other costs of keeping our office and organization visible and effective. We also make contributions to the regional and national Freeze organizations. We are committed to getting the most out of each dollar contributed to stopping the nuclear arms race. A very small percentage of our expense goes toward fundraising costs.

Won't you help too? Membership dues for 1987 are: \$15/individual; \$25/family or household; \$10/senior, student, or low-income. You can also become a sustaining member by pledging an amount monthly or quarterly. Sustainers help stabilize our financial base so we can spend more time organizing and less time fundraising.

Members receive a subscription to *The Monthly Planet* and are kept up to date on all activities and events. To join, just fill out the form below and send it to:

Nuclear Weapons Freeze
320-G Cedar St.
Santa Cruz, Ca. 95060

I will be an annual member.

Enclosed is: \$15 Individual
 \$25 Family
 \$10 Student/Senior/Low Income
 \$35 Joint Local-National

OR:

I will give \$_____ per month/quarter as a Sustaining Member.
(circle one)

Enclosed is my first payment.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone _____

Peace & Justice Calendar

All events listed are in Santa Cruz, unless otherwise noted.

Calendar items must be typed, double spaced, and sent (along with any photos) to *The Monthly Planet*, 320-G Cedar St., Santa Cruz, CA 95060.

We must receive your listing no later than **Tuesday, December 1** for inclusion in the December issue (publication date: Thursday, December 10).

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 30

Nicaragua: A Nurse's Perspective. Nubia Elena Herrera Perez, Instructor of Nursing at the National Autonomous University of Nicaragua, will speak about her experiences as a nurse before and after the overthrow of the Nicaragua dictator Somoza in 1979. 3:30 pm, Education Building Rooms C & D, Domini-

can Santa Cruz Hospital. 7:30 pm, Forum Room 456, Cabrillo College. At 7:30, Santa Cruz Veterans will show slides of their recent trip to Nicaragua to rebuild a rural clinic which was destroyed by contras. Sponsored by the Central America Health Rights Project. Info: 462-2563 or 423-7797.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 1

Reception for Nubia Elena Herrera Perez, Instructor of Nursing at the National Autonomous University of Nicaragua. Darling House Bed and Breakfast Inn, 314 West Cliff Drive, 2:30-4:30 pm. Sponsored by the Central America Health Rights Project. Info: 462-2563 or 423-7797.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 2

Colloquia: "Disarmament Success Stories" with Dane Archer, Professor of Sociology at UCSC. Presented by the Stevenson Program on Nuclear Policy. Stevenson Con-

ference Room, UCSC, 3:30 pm. Info: 429-2833.

Conversations in Nonviolence: Judy Hurley: Brazil. A talk and slide show about the contemporary struggle for land and the meaning of nonviolence for the popular movements of Brazil. Judy Hurley is coordinator of project Abraco: North Americans in Solidarity with the People of Brazil. 515 Broadway, 7:30 pm. Info: 423-1626.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 3

Discussion Series: Children and Violence: "Teenagers—Peace and Problems." An evening addressing the fears and hopes of parents as they cope with raising teenagers and future teenagers in a violent world. 7:30-9:30 pm, 515 Broadway, Resource Center for Nonviolence. \$3-\$5 sliding scale, no one turned away.

Nuclear Film Series: "South Africa: The Nuclear File." This film traces the history of South Africa's quest for nuclear capability. Presented by the Stevenson Program on Nuclear Policy. 7:30 pm, Cowell Fireside Lounge, UCSC. Free. Info: 429-2833.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 5

Another Look at the Watsonville Strike; Video, "Wrath of Grapes," about farming, workers and pesticides, and Frank Bardacke, a Watsonville night school teacher, talking about his involvement in the Watsonville food workers' strike. 7-9 pm. Potluck at 6 pm. Unitarian-Universalist Fellowship, 6401 Freedom Blvd, Aptos. Info: 684-1401 or 475-8137.

Slide show "The Militarization of the Mayan Highlands" and a discussion on current political topics involving Guatemala. Presented by Katharine Webster, recently returned from Guatemala. Resource Center for Nonviolence, 515 Broadway, 7:30 pm. Info: 462-3474.

Nuclear Film Series: "South Africa: The Nuclear File." See November 3.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 6

Speaker Jaime Wright, the head of the Presbyterian Church of Brazil and the closest associate of Cardinal Arns. He is the author of *Brazil Never Again*, a 17-volume documentation of torture under the military dictatorship. He grew up in Brazil as the son of U.S. missionaries and his own brother was one of the first to disappear under the military government. Co-sponsored by the Resource Center for Nonviolence and the Nuclear Weapons Freeze. 12 noon, Resource Center for Nonviolence, 515 Broadway. Brown bag lunch, donation requested. Info: Judy 423-1626.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 6-SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 8

Celebrate Dorothy Day's 90th Birthday. For her entire life, Dorothy Day bore witness to the light in the darkness of human suffering and conflict. What would have been her 90th birthday is being commemorated at The Nevada Test Site. Info: (213) 267-8789.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 7

Public Speak-Out on the Military Budget and Unmet Human Needs. Local residents testifying to elected officials and community leaders about the growing military budget and its impact on human needs. Co-sponsored by the Nuclear Weapons Freeze, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Central Labor Council AFL-CIO, Resource Center for Nonviolence, Community Action Board, League of United Latin American Citizens, and Santa Cruz Action Network. 1-5 pm, Cabrillo College Forum Bldg. Info: 438-6094 or 458-9425.

Public Speak-Out on The Military Budget And Unmet Human Needs

Plans are underway for a "Public Speak-Out on the Military Budget and Unmet Human Needs" on Saturday, November 7 from 1-5 pm at the Cabrillo College Forum Building. Seven local organizations are working on this unprecedented community event. It will feature testimony from resource people representing five areas of human needs, including: childcare, education, housing, health care and job security.

Elected officials, business, and community leaders will participate, not by speaking, but by listening to testimony from both the resource people as well as members of the community at large.

According to Kathleen Tranchina, of the Santa Cruz branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, one of the organizations sponsoring this event, "Our federal budget priorities are all wrong. The current military budget is the largest in history. Meanwhile, local social service agencies are facing serious problems meeting human needs. The Speak-Out is an opportunity for community education and involvement in policies which affect all of our lives."

The Reverend Aidsands Wright-Riggins, Coordinator of Peace and Justice Projects and the special assistant to the executive director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Los Angeles, will give the keynote address on "Institutionalizing Racism and Poverty."

For more information, contact Glen Schaller at the Santa Cruz Action Network, 458-9425 or Terry Teitelbaum at the Santa Cruz County Nuclear Weapons Freeze, 458-9975.



SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 8

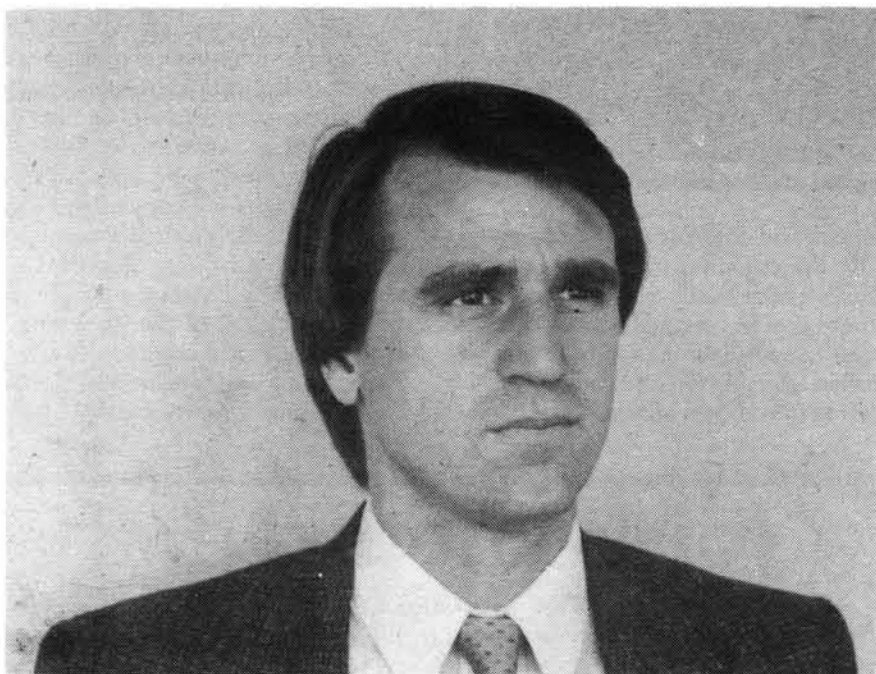
Veterans For Peace Benefit with Oliver Stone. Tampico Grande, Felton. Info: 429-8345.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 9

Colloquia: "Where Have All the Profits Gone? The Political Economy of Defense Spending" with David Kaun, Professor of Economics at UCSC. Stevenson Conference Room, UCSC, 3:30 pm. Presented by the Stevenson Program on Nuclear Policy. Info: 429-2833.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 10

Discussion Series: Children and Violence: "Parenting In A Violent World." Infor-



Dr. Stephen Kull.

"Visions for Your Future" Symposium

A symposium titled "Visions for Your Future" will be held Saturday, November 14, from 9 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. at the First United Methodist Church, 229 Stanford St., Watsonville.

Dr. Stephen Kull, psychologist and Fellow at the Stanford Center for International Security and Arms Control, is the featured speaker. His topic is "Pre-Nuclear Thinking in a Nuclear Age."

After practicing clinical psychology for over ten years, Dr. Kull became interested in questions related to international security. He interviewed important American policymakers in the Defense and State departments, the National Security Council, Joint Chiefs of Staff, etc. He found a recurring inconsistency in their thinking about the pre-nuclear era and the present.

The Nuclear Weapons Freeze of Santa Cruz County, one of the sponsors of the symposium, will make a short presentation on "How You Can Get Involved" in promoting the

nuclear freeze.

There will also be four workshops conducted by the other sponsoring groups. The American Association of University Women will show the film *Women for America, Women for the World* which features interviews with eloquent women about their future and their children's futures.

The workshop of the Pajaro Valley Religious Committee for Peacemaking is entitled "The Force of Law versus the Law of Force." It also includes a Christic Institute film.

The Physicians for Social Responsibility will show a film titled *Star Wars: A Search for Security*.

The Beyond War Foundation will be exploring "The Power of the Individual."

Participants will have the opportunity to attend two workshops and join in discussions. The public is cordially invited to attend this provocative symposium. Pre-registration is welcomed. For further information, call 724-2714.

mation about the connection between TV violence, aggressive toys and children's behavior, followed by discussion and sharing of strategies for coping with violent play. Leaders will be members of the No War Toys Committee. 7:30-9:30 pm, 515 Broadway, Resource Center for Nonviolence. \$3-\$5, no one turned away.

Larry Ross, founder and director of the New Zealand Nuclear Free Zone Committee, will speak on the nuclear free zone concept, strategy, methods and direction of the Nuclear Free Zone Campaign in New Zealand. Co-sponsored by the Nuclear Weapons Freeze and the Resource Center for Nonviolence. 7:30 pm, Moraga Hall, 1307 Seabright. Info: 458-9975 or 423-1626.

Nuclear Film Series: "Dr. Strangelove." Stanley Kubrick's classic 1964 comedy. A darkly humorous vision of the dangers of nuclear war. Presented by the Stevenson Program on Nuclear Policy. 7:30 pm, Cowell Fireside Lounge, UCSC. Free. Info: 429-2833.

An Evening with Dr. Helen Caldicott and Academy Award winning filmmaker Vivienne Verdon-Roe plus a special showing of *Women—For America, For the World* and a champagne reception to meet Dr. Caldicott and Ms. Verdon-Roe. All proceeds go to promote and distribute *Women—For America, For the World* and the continuing work of Vivienne Verdon-Roe. 7 pm, Palace of Fine Arts, 3301 Lyon Street, San Francisco. \$25 per person, advanced sales; \$30 at the door. Advanced tickets at Ticketron (415) 392-7469. Info: (415) 654-6312.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 12
Nuclear Film Series: "Dr. Strangelove." See November 10.

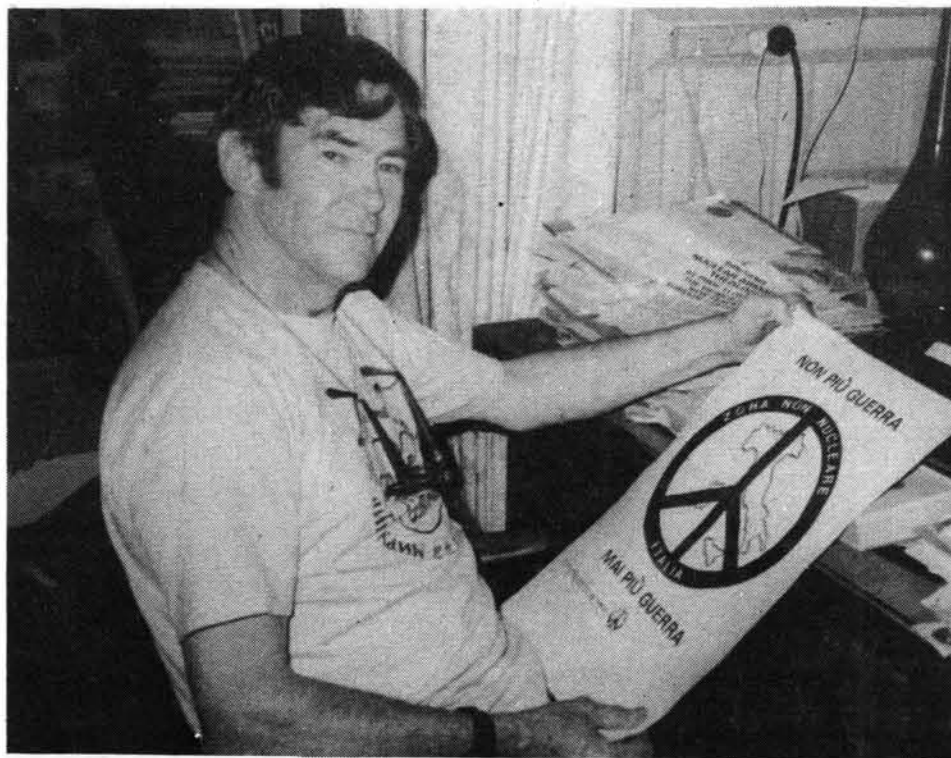
FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 13
Art Auction presented by the Traveling School of Santa Cruz. Will be run by the well-known Robert Sils gallery of Los Angeles. Proceeds will benefit Traveling School's Scholarship Fund. 7 pm, Chaminade Executive Conference Center. \$10 admission includes food and champagne. Info: Alan Sacks 429-8142.

SAURDAY, NOVEMBER 14
Symposium: Visions for Your Future. Stephen Kull, Ph.D., Fellow, Stanford Center for International Security and Arms Control, will speak on "pre-nuclear thinking in a nuclear age." 9 am -12:30 pm, First United Methodist Church, 229 Stanford St., Watsonville. Pre-registration preferred. Info: 724-2714. Workshops sponsored by the American Association of University Women (Watsonville branch), Pajaro Valley Religious Committee for Peace Making, Nuclear Weapons Freeze of Santa Cruz County, Physicians for Social Responsibility, and Beyond War Foundation.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 16
Colloquia: "Issues Associated with a Transition to a Possible Defense-Dominated Nuclear Strategy" with William Schuler, Director of Military Application at Lawrence Livermore Laboratory (tentative). Stevenson Conference Room, UCSC, 3:30 pm. Presented by the Stevenson Program on Nuclear Policy. Info: 429-2833.

Conversations in Nonviolence: Peter Klotz-Chamberlin: Alushta, U.S.S.R. He will share information and slides about Santa Cruz' newest sister-city—Alushta, U.S.S.R. Peter recently returned from a two-week visit to the area. 515 Broadway, 12-1:30 pm and 7:30 pm. Info: 423-1626.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 17
Discussion Series: Children and Violence:



Larry Ross, the founder and director of the New Zealand Nuclear Free Zone Committee, will speak in Santa Cruz on Tuesday, November 10. See the calendar listing for details.

"Boys, Fathers and Violent Play." For dads and other men. Steven Kelly, a Licensed Marriage and Family Counselor, will help men deal with such questions as "What is gun play all about?", "Is G.I. Joe substantially different from Hopalong Cassidy?", and "How do we guide children in safe, constructive ways?" 7:30-9:30 pm, 515 Broadway, Resource Center for Nonviolence. \$3-\$5, no one turned away.

Speaker, Paul Burks, a United Methodist clergyman, is editor of "Sequoia: The Church at Work" (a newsletter of the Northern California Ecumenical Council). He will describe the joining together since 1979 of the political right wing and conservative sectors within the religious community. Co-sponsored by the Resource Center for Nonviolence and the Nuclear Weapons Freeze. 7:30 pm, Grace United Methodist Church, Cayuga at Soquel. Donation requested. Info: 423-1626.

Slide show and talk on Nicaragua presented by Susan Troll. 7:30 pm, Resource Center for Nonviolence, 515 Broadway. Info: Mothers Children 462-3474.

Nuclear Film Series: "A Defense That Defends" and "Weapons in Space." Daniel Graham of High Frontiers argues the case for Star Wars; a panel organized by the Union of Concerned Scientists argues the case against. Presented by the Stevenson Program on Nuclear Policy. 7:30 pm, Cowell Fireside Lounge, UCSC. Free. Info: 429-2833.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 19
Nuclear Film Series: "A Defense That Defends" and "Weapons in Space." See November 17.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 22
Slides and Talk: Cycles of Wars, their link with solar activity and earth's magnetic field; the Persian Gulf War and solar activity. 7:30 pm at Unity, 407 Broadway, \$7. Proceeds go to support the Academy for Peace Research. Info: Buryl Payne 426-5474.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 23
Colloquia: "Edward Teller, Klaus Fuchs, and Soviet Acquisition of the Secret of the H-Bomb" with William Mathews, Professor and Chair of Astronomy at UCSC. Stevenson Conference Room, UCSC, 3:30

pm. Presented by the Stevenson Program on Nuclear Policy. Info: 429-2833.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 24
Nuclear Film Series: "The War Game" and "In The Nuclear Shadow." A docu-

mentary of what would happen if England were to come under a nuclear attack. With the Academy-Award-nominated film of children's reaction to living in the nuclear age. 7:30 pm, Cowell Fireside Lounge, UCSC. Free. Info: 429-2833.

Talk: "Washington's Secret Wars Against Nicaragua and Afghanistan." Presented by Margaret DeLacy, recently returned from Nicaragua and Alan Weirnerman, educational director, Communist Party of Santa Cruz. 7:30 pm, Santa Cruz Main Library, 224 Church Street. Free. Sponsored by the Santa Cruz Friends of the People's Daily World.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 30
Colloquia: To Be Announced. Stevenson Conference Room, UCSC, 3:30 pm. Presented by the Stevenson Program on Nuclear Policy. Info: 429-2833.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 1
Nuclear Film Series: "War: The Profession of Arms." Gwynne Dyer's in-depth look at the people from around the world who have chosen the military as a career. Presented by the Stevenson Program on Nuclear Policy. 7:30 pm, Cowell Fireside Lounge, UCSC. Free. Info: 429-2833.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 3
"Nuclear Film Series: "War: The Profession of Arms." See December 1.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 7
Colloquia: "Gorbachev, Glasnost, and Arms Control" with Peter Kenez, Professor of History at UCSC (tentative). Stevenson Conference Room, UCSC, 3:30 pm. Presented by the Stevenson Program on Nuclear Policy. Info: 429-2833.

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